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THE WORKS

OF

FRANCIS BACON,

Lord Chancellor of England.

A NEW EDITION:

BY

BASIL MONTAGU, ESQ.

VOL. III.

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PREFACE.

This Volume contains—

I. The Wisdom of the Ancients.

II. Civil History.

1. History of Henry VII.
2. History of Henry VIII.
3. History of Great Britain.
4. The State of Europe.

III. Biography.

1. Queen Elizabeth.
2. Julius Cæsar.
3. Augustus Cæsar.
4. Henry, Prince of Wales.

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§ 1.

THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.

The first edition of this work was published in Latin in the year 1609. It is entitled—

FRANCISCI
BACONI
EQVITIS AVRATI,
PROCVRATORIS SE-
CVNDI, JACOBI REGIS
MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ
DE SAPIENTIA
VETERVM LIBER,
AD INCLYTAM ACADEMIAM
CANTABRIGIENSEM.

LONDINI
EXCUDEBAT ROBERTUS BAR-
KERUS SERENISSIMÆ REGIÆ
MAIESTATIS TYPOGRAPHUS
ANNO 1609.

In February 27, 1610, Lord Bacon wrote "To MR. MATTHEW, upon sending his book 'De Sapientia Veterum.'

"Mr. Matthew,

"I do very heartily thank you for your letter of "the 24th of August from Salamanca; and in "recompence thereof I send you a little work of "mine that hath begun to pass the world. They "tell me my Latin is turned into silver, and become "current: had you been here, you should have been "my inquisitor before it came forth: but, I think, "the greatest inquisitor in Spain will allow it.

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"But one thing you must pardon me if I make no "haste to believe, that the world should be grown "to such an ecstacy as to reject truth in philosophy, "because the author dissenteth in religion; no more "than they do by Aristotle or Averroes. My great "work goeth forward; and after my manner, I alter "ever when I add. So that nothing is finished till "all be finished. This I have written in the midst "of a term and parliament; thinking no time so "possessed, but that I should talk of these matters "with so good and dear a friend. And so with my "wonted wishes I leave you to God's goodness.

"From Gray's-Inn, Feb. 27, 1610."

And in his letter to Father Fulgentio, giving some account of his writings, he says, "My Essays "will not only be enlarged in number, but still more "in substance. Along with them goes the little "piece 'De Sapientia Veterum.'"

Bacon's sentiments with respect to these fables may be found in the "Advancement of Learning," and in the "De Augmentis," under the head of Poetry.

In the "Advancement of Learning" he says, "There remaineth yet another use of poesy parabo- "lical, opposite to that which we last mentioned: "for that tendeth to demonstrate and illustrate that "which is taught or delivered, and this other to retire "and obscure it: that is, when the secrets and mys- "teries of religion, policy, or philosophy, are in- "volved in fables or parables. Of this in divine "poesy we see the use is authorized. In heathen

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" poesy we see the exposition of fables doth fall out " sometimes with great felicity; as in the fable that " the giants being overthrown in their war against " the gods, the Earth their mother in revenge " thereof brought forth Fame:

" Illam Terra parens, irâ irritata deorum,
" Extremam, ut perhibent, Cœo Enceladoque sororem
" Progenuit."

" expounded, that when princes and monarchs have " suppressed actual and open rebels, then the malig- " nity of the people, which is the mother of rebellion, " doth bring forth libels and slanders, and taxations " of the state, which is of the same kind with rebel- " lion, but more feminine. So in the fable, that the " rest of the gods having conspired to bind Jupiter, " Pallas called Briareus with his hundred hands to " his aid, expounded, that monarchies need not fear " any curbing of their absoluteness by mighty sub- " jects, as long as by wisdom they keep the hearts " of the people, who will be sure to come in on their " side. So in the fable, that Achilles was brought " up under Chiron the Centaur, who was part a " man and part a beast, expounded ingeniously, but " corruptly by Machiavel, that it belongeth to the " education and discipline of princes to know as " well how to play the part of the lion in violence, " and the fox in guile, as of the man in virtue and " justice. Nevertheless, in many the like encoun- " ters, I do rather think that the fable was first, and " the exposition then devised, than that the moral " was first, and thereupon the fable framed. For I

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" find it was an ancient vanity in Chrysippus, that " troubled himself with great contention to fasten " the assertions of the Stoics upon the fictions of the " ancient poets; but yet that all the fables and fic- " tions of the poets were but pleasure and not figure, " I interpose no opinion. Surely of those poets " which are now extant, even Homer himself, (not- " withstanding he was made a kind of Scripture by " the latter schools of the Grecians,) yet I should " without any difficulty pronounce that his fables " had no such inwardness in his own meaning; but " what they might have upon a more original tradi- " tion, is not easy to affirm; for he was not the " inventor of many of them."

In the treatise " De Augmentis," the same sentiments will be found with a slight alteration in the expressions. He says, " there is another use of " parabolical poesy, opposite to the former, which " tendeth to the folding up of those things, the " dignity whereof, deserves to be retired and dis- " tinguished, as with a drawn curtain: that is, when " the secrets and mysteries of religion, policy, and " philosophy are veiled and invested with fables, " and parables. But whether there be any mystical " sense couched under the ancient fables of the " poets, may admit some doubt: and indeed for our " part we incline to this opinion, as to think, that " there was an infused mystery in many of the an- " cient fables of the poets. Neither doth it move " us that these matters are left commonly to school- " boys, and grammarians, and so are embased, that

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" we should therefore make a slight judgment, " upon them: but contrariwise because it is clear, " that the writings which recite those fables, of all " the writings of men, next to sacred writ, are the " most ancient; and that the fables themselves are " far more ancient than they (being they are alleged " by those writers, not as excogitated by them, but " as credited and recepted before) seem to be, " like a thin rarified air, which from the traditions " of more ancient nations, fell into the flutes of the " Grecians."

This tract seems, in former times, to have been much valued, for the same reason, perhaps, which Bacon assigns * for the currency of the Essays; " because they are like the late new half-pence, which, though the silver is good, yet the pieces are small." Of this tract, Archbishop Tenison in his Baconiana, says, " In the seventh place, I may reckon his book " De Sapientia Veterum, written by him in Latin, " and set forth a second time with enlargement;† and " translated into English by Sir Arthur Georges: a " book in which the sages of former times are ren- " dered more wise than it may be they were, by so " dextrous an interpreter of their fables. It is this " book which Mr. Sandys means, in those words which " he hath put before his notes, on the Metamor- " phosis of Ovid. 'Of modern writers, I have

* See page vii of preface to Vol. I.

† In the year 1617, in Latin. It was published in Italian in 1618—in French in 1619.

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" received the greatest light from Geraldus, Pontanus, " Ficinus, Vives, Comes, Scaliger, Sabinus, Pierius, " and the crown of the latter, the Viscount of St. " Albans.'

" It is true, the design of this book was instruc- " tion in natural and civil matters, either couched " by the ancients under those fictions, or rather " made to seem to be so by his lordship's wit, in the " opening and applying of them. But because the " first ground of it is poetical story, therefore let it " have this place, till a fitter be found for it."

The author of Bacon's Life, in the Biographia Britannica, says, " that he might relieve himself a little " from the severity of these studies, and as it were " amuse himself with erecting a magnificent pavi- " lion, while his great palace of philosophy was " building, he composed and sent abroad in 1610, " his celebrated treatise Of the Wisdom of the An- " cients, in which he shewed that none had studied " them more closely, was better acquainted with " their beauties, or had pierced deeper into their " meaning. There have been very few books pub- " lished, either in this or in any other nation, which " either deserved or met with more general applause " than this, and scarce any that are like to retain it " longer, for in this performance, Sir Francis Bacon " gave a singular proof of his capacity to please all " parties in literature, as in his political conduct he " stood fair with all the parties in the nation. The " admirers of antiquity were charmed with this dis- " course, which seems expressly calculated to justify

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" their admiration; and, on the other hand, their " opposites were no less pleased with a piece, from " which they thought they could demonstrate, that " the sagacity of a modern genius, had found out " much better meanings for the ancients, than ever " were meant by them."

And Mallet, in his Life of Bacon, says, " In " 1610 he published another treatise, entitled " Of the Wisdom of the Ancients. This work " bears the same stamp of an original and in- " ventive genius with his other performances. " Resolving not to tread in the steps of those who " had gone before him, men, according to his own " expression, not learned beyond certain common " places, he strikes out a new tract for himself, and " enters into the most secret recesses of this wild " and shadowy region, so as to appear new on a " known and beaten subject. Upon the whole, if " we cannot bring ourselves readily to believe that " there is all the physical, moral, and political mean- " ing veiled under those fables of antiquity, which " he has discovered in them, we must own that it " required no common penetration to be mistaken " with so great an appearance of probability on his " side. Though it still remains doubtful whether " the ancients were so knowing as he attempts to " shew they were, the variety and depth of his own " knowledge are, in that very attempt, unquestion- " able."

In the year 1619, this tract was translated by Sir Arthur Georges. Prefixed to the work are two

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letters; the one to the Earl of Salisbury, the other to the University of Cambridge, which Georges omits, and dedicates his translation to the High and Illustrious Princess the Lady Elizabeth of Great Britain, Duchess of Baviare, Countess Palatine of Rheine, and Chief Electress of the Empire. As this translation was published during the life of Lord Bacon, by a great admirer of his works, and as it is noticed by Archbishop Tenison, I have inserted it in this volume. I am not certain that I have done right, as it is my intention, with the translation of all the works, to publish a new translation of these fables; for which I am indebted to a member of the University of Oxford, who has lately so eminently distinguished himself for his classical attainments, and who will I trust forgive this expression of my affectionate respect for his virtuous exertions. It would be grateful to me to say more.

§ 2.
CIVIL HISTORY.

At an early period of his life, Bacon was impressed with the importance of a History of England from the union of the Roses to the union of the Kingdoms. In the Advancement of Learning, published in 1605, he says, "But for modern histories,* "whereof there are some few very worthy, but the "greatest part beneath mediocrity, leaving the care "of foreign stories to foreign states, because I will "not be 'curiosus in aliena republica,' I cannot fail

* See vol II. page 110.

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" to represent to your majesty, the unworthiness of " the history of England in the main continuance " thereof, and the partiality and obliquity of that of " Scotland, in the latest and largest author that I " have seen; supposing that it would be honour for " your majesty, and a work very memorable, if this " island of Great Brittany, as it is now joined in " monarchy for the ages to come: so were joined in " one history for the times passed, after the manner " of the sacred history, which draweth down the " story of the ten tribes, and of the two tribes, as " twins together. And if it shall seem that the " greatness of this work may make it less exactly per- " formed, there is an excellent period of a much " smaller compass of time, as to the story of Eng- " land, that is to say, from the uniting of the roses, " to the uniting of the kingdoms; a portion of time " wherein, to my understanding, there hath been " the rarest varieties that in like number of succes- " sions of any hereditary monarchy hath been known: " for it beginneth with the mixed adoption of a crown " by arms and title; an entry by battle, an esta- " blishment by marriage: and therefore times an- " swerable, like waters after a tempest, full of work- " ing and swelling, though without extremity of " storm; but well passed through by the wisdom of " the pilot, being one of the most sufficient kings of " of all the number. Then followeth the reign of a " king, whose actions, howsoever conducted, had " much intermixture with the affairs of Europe, ba- " lancing and inclining them variably; in whose " time also began that great alteration in the state

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"ecclesiastical, an action which seldom cometh upon "the stage. Then the reign of a minor: then an "offer of an usurpation, though it was but as 'febris "ephemera:' then the reign of a queen matched "with a foreigner: then of a queen that lived solitary "and unmarried, and yet her government so mascu- "line that it had greater impression and operation "upon the states abroad than it any ways received "from thence. And now last, this most happy and "glorious event, that this island of Britain, divided "from all the world, should be thus united in itself: "and that oracle of rest, given to Æneas. 'Anti- "quam exquirite matrem,' should now be performed "and fulfilled upon the nations of England and "Scotland, being now reunited in the ancient mother "name of Britain, as a full period of all instability "and peregrinations: so that as it cometh to pass "in massive bodies, that they have certain trepida- "tions and waverings before they fix and settle; so "it seemeth that by the providence of God this mo- "narchy, before it was to settle in your majesty and "your generations, (in which, I hope, it is now esta- "blished for ever,) had these preclusive changes and "varieties."

And the same passage is repeated in the treatise "De Augmentis," which was published in the year 1623, with the omission of the praise of the reign of Elizabeth.

HISTORY OF HENRY VII.

The history of Henry VII. was written in English, and was the first book which he composed after

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his retirement from active life.* In a letter to the king, dated 20th of March, 1621, he says,

"To the King's most excellent Majesty.

"May it please your Majesty,

"I acknowledge myself in all humbleness infi- "nitely bounden to your majesty's grace and good- "ness, for that, at the intercession of my noble and "constant friend, my lord marquis, your majesty "hath been pleased to grant me that which the "civilians say is 'res inæstimabilis,' my liberty. So "that now, whenever God calleth me, I shall not "die a prisoner. Nay, farther, your majesty hath "vouchsafed to cast a second and iterate aspect of "your eye of compassion upon me, in referring the "consideration of my broken estate to my good lord "the treasurer; which as it is a singular bounty in "your majesty, so I have yet so much left of a late "commissioner of your treasure, as I would be sorry "to sue for any thing that might seem immodest. "These your majesty's great benefits, in casting

---

"* His historical works are these:—the first is the history "of Henry the Seventh, written elegantly, by his lordship in the "English tongue, and addressed to his Highness the Prince of "Wales; and turned afterwards into Latin. An history which "required such a reporter: those times being times both of "great revolution, and settlement, through the division and "union of the roses.

"This was the first book which he composed after his re- "tirement from an active life. Upon which occasion he wrote "thus to the Bishop of Winchester. Being (as I am) no more "able to do my country service, it remaineth unto me, to do it "honour: which I have endeavoured to do in my work of the "reign of King Henry the Seventh."—*Baconiana.*

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" your bread upon the waters, as the Scripture " saith, because my thanks cannot any ways be suf- " ficient to attain, I have raised your progenitor, of " famous memory (and now, I hope, of more famous " memory than before) King Henry VII. to give " your majesty thanks for me; which work, most " humbly kissing your majesty's hands, I do present. " And because in the beginning of my trouble, " when in the midst of the tempest I had a kenning " of the harbour, which I hope now by your " majesty's favour I am entering into, I made a " tender to your majesty of two works, 'An History " of England,' and 'A digest of your laws;' as I " have, by a figure of pars pro toto, performed the " one, so I have herewith sent your majesty, by way " of an epistle, a new offer of the other. But my " desire is farther, if it stand with your majesty's " good pleasure, since now my study is my exchange, " and my pen my factor, for the use of my talent; " that your majesty, who is a great master in these " things, would be pleased to appoint me some task " to write, and that I shall take for an oracle. And " because my " Instauration," which I esteem my " great work, and do still go on with silence, was " dedicated to your majesty; and this 'History of " King Henry VII. to your lively and excellent " image the prince; if now your majesty will be " pleased to give me a theme to dedicate to my Lord " of Buckingham, whom I have so much reason to " honour, I should with more alacrity embrace your " majesty's direction than my own choice. Your " majesty will pardon me for troubling you thus

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" long. God evermore preserve and prosper you.

" Your majesty's poor beadsman most devoted,

" FR. ST. ALBAN.

" Gorhambury, 20 Mar. 1621."

" To the Right Honourable his very good Lord,
" the Lord Marquiss of Buckingham, High-
" Admiral of England.

" My very good Lord,

" These main and real favours which I have
" lately received from your good lordship, in pro-
" curing my liberty, and a reference of the consi-
" deration of my release, are such, as I now find
" that in building upon your lordship's noble nature
" and friendship, I have bullt upon the rock, where
" neither winds nor waves can cause overthrow. I
" humbly pray your lordship to accept from me
" such thanks as ought to come from him whom you
" have much comforted in fortune, and much more
" comforted in shewing your love and affection to
" him; of which also I have heard by my Lord Falk-
" land, Sir Edward Sackville, Mr. Matthews, and
" otherways.

" I have written, as my duty was, to his majesty
" thanks touching the same, by the letter here put
" into your noble hands.

" I have made also, in that letter, an offer to his
" majesty of my service, for bringing into better
" order and frame the laws of England: the decla-
" ration whereof I have left with Sir Edward Sack-
" ville, because it were no good manners to clog his
" majesty, at this time of triumph and recreation,
" with a business of this nature; so as your lordship

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" may be pleased to call for it to Sir Edward Sack-
" ville when you think the time seasonable.

" I am bold likewise to present your lordship
" with a book of my ' History of King Henry the
" Seventh.' And now that, in summer was twelve
" months, I dedicated a book to his majesty; and
" this last summer, this book to the prince; your
" lordship's turn is next, and this summer that
" cometh (if I live to it) shall be yours. I have
" desired his majesty to appoint me the task, other-
" wise I shall use my own choice; for this is the
" best retribution I can make to your lordship.
" God prosper you. I rest

" Your lordship's most obliged friend
" and faithful servant,
" Fr. St. Alban.

" Gorhambury, this 20th of March, 1621."

On September 5, 1621, Bacon in a letter to the Marquiss of Buckingham, says, " I am much fallen " in love with a private life; but yet I shall so spend " my time, as shall not decay my abilities for use."

On the 8th of October, 1621, he wrote the following letter to the king.

" It may please your most excellent majesty,—
" I do very humbly thank your majesty for your
" gracious remission of my fine. I can now, I thank
" God and you, die, and make a will.

" I desire to do, for the little time God shall
" send me life, like the merchants of London, which,
" when they give over trade, lay out their money
" upon land. So, being freed from civil business, I
" lay forth my poor talent upon those things, which

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" may be perpetual, still having relation to do you
" honour with those powers I have left.

" I have therefore chosen to write the reign of
" King Henry the Seventh, who was in a sort your
" forerunner, and whose spirit, as well as his blood
" is doubled upon your majesty.

" I durst not have presumed to intreat your
" majesty to look over the book, and correct it, or at
" least to signify what you would have amended.
" But since you are pleased to send for the book, I
" will hope for it.

" God knoweth, whether ever I shall see you
" again: but I will pray for you to the last gasp,
" resting * the same, your true beadsman,

" FR. ST. ALBAN."

" October 8, 1621."

During the progress of the work, considerable expectation was excited respecting the history. Rawley in his life of Bacon, says, " His fame is " greater, and sounds louder, in foreign parts abroad, " than at home, in his own nation. Thereby verify- " ing that divine sentence; a prophet is not without " honour, save in his own country, and in his own " house. Concerning which, I will give you a taste " only, out of a letter written from Italy, (the store- " house of refined wits,) to the late Earl of Devon- " shire; then the Lord Cavendish. I will expect the " new Essays of my Lord Chancellor Bacon, as also " his history, with a great deal of desire; and what- " soever else, he shall compose. But in particular, of " his history, I promise myself, a thing perfect, and

* Note. This passage has a line drawn over it.

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"singular; especially in Henry the Seventh, where "he may exercise the talent of his divine under- "standing."

After the completion of the work, there seems to have been a demur with respect to its publication, in a letter from Sir Thomas Meautys,* he says, "May it please your lordship, I have been at- "tending upon my lord marquiss' minutes for the "signing of the warrant."

The letter then continues, and, in the conclusion, says, "Your books are ready, and passing well "bound up. If your lordship's letters to the king, "prince, and my lord marquiss were ready, I think "it were good to lose no time in their delivery; for "the printer's fingers itch to be selling."

It seems by the following letter, that there was another letter from Sir Thomas Meautys complaining of this demur.

"Good Mr. Meautys, for the difference of the "warrant, it is not material at the first. But I may "not stir till I have it; and therefore I expect it "to-morrow.

"For my Lord of London's stay, there may be "an error in my book; but I am sure there is none "in me, since the king had it three months by him, "and allowed it: if there be any thing to be "mended, it is better to be espied now than here- "after.

"I send you the copies of the three letters, "which you have, and, in mine own opinion, this

* Birch, 310.

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" demur, as you term it, in my Lord of London,* " maketh it more necessary than before, that they " were delivered, specially in regard they contain " withal my thanks. It may be signified they were " sent before I knew of any stay; and being but in " those three hands, they are private enough. But " this I leave merely at your discretion, resting your " most affectionate and assured friend,

" FR. ST. ALBAN."

" March 21, 1621".

It was published in folio, in the year 1622. The following is a copy of the title page.

The
Historie
Of the Raigne
Of King
Henry
The Seventh
Written
By the Right Honourable
Francis
Lord Verulam, Viscount
St. Alban.

London,
Printed by W. Stransby for Matthew
Lownes, and William
Barret.

1622.

* Dr. George Mountain.

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He sent copies of the history, to the Queen of Bohemia, and to the Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Williams, his successor.

" To the Queen of Bohemia.

" It may please your Majesty,

" I find in books, and books I dare alledge to " your majesty in regard of your singular ability to " read and judge of them even above your sex, that " it is accounted a great bliss for a man to have " leisure with honour. That was never my fortune, " nor is. For time was, I had honour without " leisure; and now I have leisure without honour. " And I cannot say so neither altogether, consider- " ing there remain with me the marks and stamp " of the king's, your father's, grace, though I " go not for so much in value as I have done. " But my desire is now to have leisure without " loitering, and not to become an abbey-lubber, " as the old proverb was, but to yield some fruit " of my private life. Having therefore written " the reign of your majesty's famous ancestor, King " Henry the Seventh, and it having passed the file " of his Majesty's judgment, and been graciously " also accepted of the prince, your brother, to whom " it is dedicated, I could not forget my duty so far " to your excellent majesty, to whom, for that I " know and have heard, I have been at all times so " much bound, as you are ever present with me, " both in affection and admiration, as not to make " unto you, in all humbleness, a present thereof, as " now being not able to give you tribute of any ser- " vice. If King Henry the Seventh were alive again,

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" I hope verily he could not be so angry with me " for not flattering him, as well pleased in seeing " himself so truly described in colours, that will last " and be believed, I most humbly pray your " majesty graciously to accept of my good-will; " and so, with all reverence, kiss your hands, pray- " ing to God above, by his divine and most benign " providence, to conduct your affairs to happy issue; " and resting

" Your majesty's most humble and devoted servant,

" Fr. St. Alban."

" April 20, 1622."

" To the Lord Viscount St. Alban.

" My very good Lord,

" I have received, by this bearer, the privy seal " for the survey of coals, which I will lay aside until " I shall hear further from my lord steward, and " the rest of the lords.

" I am ready to do as much as your lordship " desireth, in keeping Mr. Cotton off from the vio- " lence of those creditors: only himself is, as yet, " wanting in some particular directions.

" I heartily thank your lordship for your book; " and all other symbols of your love and affection, " which I will endeavour, upon all opportunities, to " deserve: and, in the mean time, do rest

" Your lordship's assured faithful

" poor friend and servant,

" Jo. Lincoln, C. S."

Westminster College, this 7th of February, 1622.

To the Right Honourable his very good Lord,
the Lord Viscount St. Alban.

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In a letter, written in the year 1622, to the Bishop of Winchester, and prefixed, in the nature of a dedication, to his dialogue touching a holy war, he says, " having in the work of my ' Instaura- " tion' had in contemplation the general good of " men in their very being, and the dowries of na- " ture; and in my work of laws, the general good " of men likewise in society, and the dowries of " government; I thought in duty I owed somewhat " unto my own country, which I ever loved; inso- " much as although my place hath been far above " my desert, yet my thoughts and cares concerning " the good thereof were beyond, and over, and " above my place: so now being, as I am, no more " able to do my country service, it remained unto " me to do it honour: which I have endeavoured to " do in my work of the reign of King Henry the " Seventh."

Soon after the publication, he expresses his anxiety that the history should be translated into Latin. In a letter to Mr. Tobie Matthew, he says, " It is true, my labours are now most set to have " those works, which I had formerly published, as " that of Advancement of Learning, that of Henry " the Seventh, that of the Essays, being retractate, " and made more perfect, well translated into Latin " by the help of some good pens, which forsake me " not. For these modern languages will, at one " time or other, play the bankrupts with books: and " since I have lost much time with this age, I would

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" be glad, as God shall give me leave, to recover it " with posterity."

In the year 1627, this history was published in French.* In 1629, there was a new edition in English. In 1638, an edition in Latin was published by Dr. Rawley; and the press has since abounded with editions.†

Such was the progress of the history of Henry the Seventh.

In the composition, Lord Bacon seems to have laboured with some anxiety.

Aubrey, in his Anecdotes, says, " about his time, " and within his view, were borne all the wits that " could honour a nation or help study. He came " often to St. John Danvers at Chelsey. Sir John " told me that when his lordship had wrote the " history of Henry the Seventh, he sent the manu- " script copy to him to desire his opinion of it " before 'twas printed. Qd Sir John, your lordship " knows that I am no scholar. 'Tis no matter, said " my lord, I know what a scholar can say; I would " know what you can say. Sir John read it, and " gave his opinion what he misliked (which I am

* 8vo. Paris, Par Holman, of which there is a copy in the British Museum.

† In 1641, and in 1647, and in 1662; and in the British Museum there is a MS. (Sloan's collection, 84,) entitled Notes, taken out of his history of the reign of Henry Seventh: and another MS. Harleian, vol. 2, of Catalogue 300, entitled Notes of Henry Seventh's reign, set down in MS. by the Lord Chancellor Bacon.

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" sorry I have forgot) which my lord acknowledged " to be true, and mended it. ' Why,' said he, ' a " scholar would never have told me this.' "

And it appears by a letter from his faithful friend, Sir Thomas Meautys, that the king did correct the manuscript. The letter is dated January 7, 162½, and directed " To the Lord Viscount St. Alban." It contains the following passage.

" Mr. Murray tells me, the king hath given your " book to my Lord Brooke, and injoined him to read " it, recommending it much to him: and then my " Lord Brooke is to return it to your lordship; and " so it may go to the press, when your lordship " pleases, with such amendments, as the king hath " made, which I have seen, and are very few, and " those rather words, as epidemic, and mild instead " of debonnaire, &c. Only that of persons attainted, " enabled to serve in parliament by a bare reversal " of their attainder, the king by all means will have " left out. I met with my Lord Brooke, and told " him that Mr. Murray had directed me to wait upon " him for the book, when he had done with it. He " desired to be spared this week, as being to him a " week of much business; and the next week I " should have it: and he ended in a compliment, " that care should be taken, by all means, for good " ink and paper to print it in; for that the book de- " serveth it. I beg leave to kiss your lordship's " hands."

But notwithstanding this labour and anxiety, the work is perhaps an illustration of Archbishop

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Tenison's observation upon Dr. Playfer's attempt to translate the "Advancement of Learning."

"Men generally come short of themselves when "they strive to outdo themselves. They put a "force upon their natural genius, and, by straining "of it, crack and disable it."

If however in the history of Henry the Seventh, it is vain to look for the vigour or beauty with which the Advancement of Learning abounds: if there is not such nervous language as "the honest "and just bounds of observation by one person "upon another, extend no farther but to under- "stand him sufficiently whereby not to give him "offence, or whereby to be able to give him faithful "counsel, or whereby to stand upon reasonable "guard and caution in respect of a man's self: but "to be speculative into another man, to the end to "know how to work him, or wind him, or govern "him, proceedeth from a heart that is double and "cloven, and not entire and ingenuous."

If there is not such beauty as "men have entered "into a desire of learning and knowledge, some- "times upon a natural curiosity, and inquisitive "appetite; sometimes to entertain their minds with "variety and delight; sometimes for ornament and "reputation; and sometimes enable them to "victory of wit and contradiction; and most times "for lucre and profession; and seldom sincerely to "give a true account of their gift of reason, to the "benefit and use of men: as if there were sought "in knowledge a couch, whereupon to rest a search-

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"ing and restless spirit; or a tarrasse for a "wandering and variable mind to walk up and "down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state, for "a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a fort or "commanding ground, for strife and contention; or "a shop, for profit or sale; and not a rich storehouse, "for the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man's "estate."

If the intricacies of a court are neither discovered nor illustrated with the same happiness as the intricacies of philosophy, "because the distribu-"tions and partitions of knowledge are not like "several lines that meet in one angle, and so touch "but in a point; but are like branches of a tree, "that meet in a stem, which hath a dimension and "quantity of entireness and continuance, before it "come to discontinue and break itself into arms "and boughs; therefore it is good, before we enter "into the former distribution, to erect and consti-"tute one universal science, by the name of 'Phi-"losophia Prima,' primitive or summary philosophy, "as the main and common way, before we come "where the ways part and divide themselves."

"'That it be a receptacle for all such profita-"ble observations and axioms a fall not within the "compass of any of the special parts of philosophy "or sciences, but are more common and of a higher "stage.' Is not the precept of a musician, to fall from "a discord or harsh accord upon a concord or sweet "accord, alike true in affection! Is not the trope of

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" music, to avoid or slide from the close or cadence, " common with the trope of rhetoric of deceiving " expectation? Is not the delight of the quavering " upon a stop in music the same with the playing of " light upon the water."

If in a work written when the author was more than sixty years of age, and if, after the vexations and labours of a professional and political life, the varieties and sprightliness of youthful imagination, are not to be found, yet the peculiar properties of his mind may easily be traced, and the stateliness of the edifice be discovered from the magnificence of the ruins. His vigilance in recording every fact tending to alleviate misery, or to promote happiness, is noticed by Bishop Sprat in his history of the Royal Society, where he says " I shall " instance in the sweating-sickness. The medicine " for it was almost infallible: but, before that could " be generally published, it had almost dispeopled " whole towns. If the same disease should have re- " turned, it might have been again as destructive, " had not the Lord Bacon taken care, to set down " the particular course of physic for it, in his history " of Henry the Seventh, and so put it beyond the " possibility of any private man's invading it."

And his account of the same calamity * contains an allusion to his favourite doctrine of vital spirit, of which the philosophy is explained in his history of Life and Death, and illustrated in his fable of Pro-

* Page 114 of this volume.

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serpine in the Wisdom of the Ancients*, and which is thus stated in his Sylva Sylvarum:

"The knowledge of man, hitherto, hath been "determined by the view, or sight; so that whatso- "ever is invisible, either in respect of the fineness of "the body itself; or the smallness of the parts; or "of the subtilty of the motion, is little inquired. "And yet these be the things that govern nature "principally; and without which, you cannot make "any true analysis and indication of the proceedings "of nature. The spirits or pneumaticals, that are in "all tangible bodies, are scarce known. Sometimes "they take them for vacuum; whereas they are "the most active of bodies. Sometimes they take "them for air; from which they differ exceedingly, "as much as wine from water; and as wood from "earth. Sometimes they will have them to be "natural heat, or a portion of the element of fire; "whereas some of them are crude, and cold. And "sometimes they will have them to be the virtues "and qualities of the tangible parts, which they see; "whereas they are things by themselves. And then, "when they come to plants, and living creatures, "they call them souls. And such superficial specu- "lations they have; like prospectives, that shew "things inward, when they are but paintings. "Neither is this a question of words, but infinitely "material in nature. For spirits are nothing else

* Page 90 of this volume. See note A at the end of this volume.

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" but a natural body, rarified to a proportion, and " included in the tangible parts of bodies, as in an " integument. And they be no less differing one " from the other, than the dense or tangible parts: " and they are in all tangible bodies whatsoever, " more or less; and they are never (almost) at rest: " and from them, and their motions, principally " proceed arefaction, colliquation, concoction, matu- " ration, putrefaction, vivification, and most of the " effects of nature."

One of his maxims of government for the enlargement of the bounds of empire is to be found in his comment upon the ordinance.* " That all houses of " husbandry, that were used with twenty acres of " ground and upwards, should be maintained and " kept up for ever; together with a competent pro- " portion of land to be used and occupied with " them;" and which is thus stated in the treatise " De Augmentis" which was published in the year 1623. " Let states and kingdoms that aim at great- " ness by all means take heed how the nobility, and " grandees, and that those which we call gentlemen, " multiply too fast; for that makes the common " subject grow to be a peasant and base swain driven " out of heart, and in effect nothing else but the " noble man's bond-slaves and labourers. Even as " you may see in coppice-wood, if you leave your " studdles too thick, you shall never have clean un- " derwood, but shrubs and bushes: so in a country,

* See page 235.

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"if the nobility be too many, the commons will be "base and heartless, and you will bring it to that, "that not the hundredth pole will be fit for an "helmet; especially as to the infantry, which is the "nerve of an army; and so there will be great po- "pulation and little strength. This which I speak "of hath been in no nation more clearly confirmed "than in the examples of England and France, "whereof England, though far inferior in territory "and population, hath been nevertheless always an "overmatch in arms; in regard the middle-people "of England make good soldiers, which the peasants "of France do not. And herein the device of Henry "the Seventh King of England (whereof I have "spoken largely in the history of his life) was pro- "found and admirable, in making farms and houses "of husbandry of a standard; that is maintained "with such a proportion of land unto them, as may "breed a subject to live in convenient plenty, and "to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, or "at least usu-fructuary, and not hirelings and mer- "cenaries; and thus a country shall merit that cha- "racter whereby Virgil expresses ancient Italy,

"Terra potens Armis, atque ubere Glebâ."

His love of familar illustration is to be found in various parts of the history, speaking of the commotion by the Cornish men in behalf of the impostor Perkin Warbeck,* he says "The course he held to- "wards the rebels, it was utterly differing from his

* Page 331.

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"former custom and practice: which was ever full "of forwardness and celerity to make head against "them, or to set upon them as soon as ever they "were in action. This he was wont to do. But "now, besides that he was attempered by years, and "less in love with dangers, by the continued fruition "of a crown; it was a time when the various ap- "pearance to his thoughts of perils of several na- "tures and from divers parts, did make him judge "it his best and surest way, to keep his strength to- "gether in the seat and centre of his kingdom: ac- "cording to the ancient Indian emblem, in such a "swelling season, to hold the hand upon the middle "of the bladder, that no side might rise." And again, "All this while the rebellion of Cornwall, where- "of we have spoken, seemed to have no relation to "Perkin; save that perhaps Perkin's proclamation "had stricken upon the right vein, in promising to "lay down exactions and payments, and so had made "them now and then have a kind thought on Perkin. "But now these bubbles by much stirring began to "meet, as they use to do upon the top of water."* And his kind nature and holy feeling appear in his account of the conquest of Granada.† "Some- "what about this time came letters from "Ferdinando and Isabella, King and Queen of "Spain; signifying the final conquest of Granada "from the Moors; which action, in itself so worthy, "King Ferdinando, whose manner was never to lose

* Page 266. † Page 345.

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" any virtue for the shewing, had expressed and dis-
" played in his letters at large, with all the particu-
" larities and religious punctos and ceremonies, that
" were observed in the reception of that city and
" kingdom: shewing, amongst other things, that
" the king would not by any means in person enter
" the city, until he had first aloof seen the cross set
" up upon the greater tower of Granada, whereby
" it became Christian ground. That likewise, be-
" fore he would enter, he did homage to God above,
" pronouncing by an herald from the height of that
" tower, that he did acknowledge to have recovered
" that kingdom by the help of God Almighty, and
" the glorious Virgin, and the virtuous Apostle Saint
" James, and the holy father Innocent the Eighth,
" together with the aids and services of his prelates,
" nobles, and commons. That yet he stirred not
" from his camp till he had seen a little army of
" martyrs, to the number of seven hundred and
" more Christians that had lived in bonds and ser-
" vitude, as slaves to the Moors, pass before his eyes,
" singing a psalm for their redemption."

HISTORY OF HENRY VIII.

Of this tract Archbishop Tenison says, " the
" Second is, the fragment of the History of Henry
" the Eighth, printed at the end of his lordship's
" miscellany works, of which the best edition is that
" in quarto, in the year 1629. This work he un-
" dertook, upon the motion of King Charles the
" First, but (a greater king not lending him time)

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" he only began it; for that which we have of it, was " (it seems) but one morning's work."

This tract is thus noticed in his letters.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

" Excellent Lord,

" Though your lordship's absence fall out in an " ill time for myself; yet because I hope in God " this noble adventure will make your lordship a " rich return in honour, abroad and at home, and " chiefly in the inestimable treasure of the love and " trust of that thrice-excellent prince; I confess " I am so glad of it, as I could not abstain from " your lordship's trouble in seeing it expressed by " these few and hasty lines.

" I beseech your lordship, of your nobleness " vouchsafe to present my most humble duty to his " highness, who, I hope, ere long will make me leave " King Henry the Eighth, and set me on work in " relation of his highness's adventures.

" I very humbly kiss your lordship's hands, resting " ever

" Your lordship's most obliged friend and servant."

" February 21, 1622."

To the Prince.

" It may please your excellent highness,

" I send your highness, in all humbleness, my book " of Advancement of Learning, translated into Latin, " but so inlarged, as it may go for a new work. It is a

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"book, I think, will live, and be a citizen of the "world, as English books are not. For Henry the "Eighth, to deal truly with your highness, I did so "despair of my health this summer, as I was glad "to choose some such work, as I might compass "within days; so far was I from entering into a "work of length. Your highness's return hath "been my restorative. When I shall wait upon your "highness, I shall give you a farther account. So "I most humbly kiss your highness's hands, resting

"Your highness's most devoted servant.

"I would (as I wrote to the duke in Spain) I "could do your highness's journey any honour with "my pen. It began like a fable of the poets; but "it deserveth all in a piece a worthy narration."

HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The first letter upon this subject is

"To the Lord Chancellor, touching the History of "Britain.

"It may please your good Lordship,

"Some late act of his majesty, referred to some "former speech which I have heard from your lord-"ship, bred in me a great desire, and the strength "of desire a boldness to make an humble proposi-"tion to your lordship, such as in me can be no "better than a wish; but if your lordship should "apprehend it, it may take some good and worthy "effect. The act I speak of, is the order given by "his majesty for the erection of a tomb or monu-

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" ment for our late sovereign Queen Elizabeth:*
" wherein I may note much, but only this at this
" time, that as her majesty did always right to his
" majesty's hopes, so his highness doth in all things
" right to her memory; a very just and princely re-
" tribution. But from this occasion, by a very easy
" ascent, I passed farther, being put in mind, by this
" representative of her person, of the more true and
" more vive representation, which is of her life and
" government: for as statues and pictures are dumb
" histories, so histories are speaking pictures; where-
" in if my affection be not too great, or my reading
" too small, I am of this opinion, that if Plutarch
" were alive to write lives by parallels, it would
" trouble him both for virtue and fortune, to find
" for her a parallel amongst women. And though
" she was of the passive sex, yet her government
" was so active, as, in my simple opinion, it made
" more impression upon the several states of Europe,
" than it received from thence. But I confess unto
" your lordship I could not stay here, but went a
" little farther into the consideration of the times
" which have passed since King Henry VIII;
" wherein I find the strangest variety, that in so
" little number of successions of any hereditary mo-
" narchy hath ever been known. The reign of a
" child; the offer of an usurpation, though it was

" * The monument here spoken of was erected in King
" Henry VII's chapel at Westminster, in the year 1606."

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" but as a diary ague; the reign of a lady married to " a foreigner; and the reign of a lady solitary and " unmarried; so that as it cometh to pass in massy " bodies, that they have certain trepidations and " wavering before they fix and settle; so it seemeth " that by the providence of God this monarchy, be- " fore it was to settle in his majesty, and his gene- " rations, in which I hope it is now established for " ever, hath had these prelusive changes in these " barren princes. Neither could I contain myself " here, as it is easier for a man to multiply than to " stay a wish, but calling to remembrance the un- " worthiness of the history of England,* in the " main continuance thereof; and the partiality and

" * The unworthiness of the history of England hath been " long complained of by ingenious men, both of this and other " nations, Sir Francis Bacon hath expressed himself much to the " same effect, though more at large in his secod book of the " Advancement of Learning: where he carries this period of re- " markable events somewhat higher than in this letter, begin- " ning with the union of the roses under Henry VII. and end- " ing with the union of the kingdoms under King James. A " portion of time filled with so great and variable accidents " both in church and state, and since so well discovered to the " view of the world, that had other parts the same performance, " we should not longer lie under any reproach of this kind. " The reign of King Henry VII. was written by our author soon " after his retirement, with so great beauty of style, and wisdom " of observation, that nothing can be more entertaining; the " truth of history not being disguised with the false colours of " romance. It was so acceptable to the P. of Wales, that when " he became king, he commanded him to proceed with the reign " of King Henry VIII. But my Lord Bacon meditating the his-

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" obliquity of that of Scotland, in the latest and " largest author* that I have seen: I conceived " it would be honour for his majesty, and a work " very memorable, if this island of Great Britain, as " it is now joined in monarchy for the ages to come, " so it were joined in history for the times past: and " that one just and complete history were compiled " of both nations. And if any man perhaps should " think it may refresh the memory of former dis- " cords, he may satisfy himself with the verse 'olim " hæc meminisse juvabit:' for the case being now

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" tory of nature, which he hardly lived to publish; his ill state " of health, and succeeding death, put an end to this and other " noble designs; leaving the ecclesiastical and civil affairs of " those times to be related by the learned pens of Dr. Burnet, " notwithstanding the objections of the avowed enemies, and " seeming friends to the reformation, and the Lord Herbert of " Cherbury; that I think there is not much of moment to be ex- " pected from a future hand. And for the annals of Queen " Elizabeth compiled by Mr. Camden, the esteem of them is as " universal as the language in which they are written. Nor " must I forget in this place to take notice of two fair and large " volumes lately published in French by Monsieur de Larrey; " where building upon the foundations laid by these gen- " tlemen, and some other memoirs, he hath not forgotten to do " much honour to the English nation. beginning his history " also with Henry VII." *Stephens.*

" * This I take to be meant of Buchanan's history of Scot- " land; a book much admired by some, though censured by " many, for his partiality in favour of the Lords, against Mary " Queen of the Scots, and the regal power. In other respects, " Archbishop Spotswood informs us that he penned it with " such judgment and eloquence, as no country can shew a " better." *Stephens.*

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" altered, it is matter of comfort and gratulation to " remember former troubles. Thus much, if it may " please your lordship, is in the optative mood; and " it is time that I did look a little into the potential; " wherein the hope which I conceived was grounded " upon three observations. The first, the nature of " these times, which flourish in learning, both of art " and language; which giveth hope not only that " it may be done, but that it may be well done. " Secondly, I do see that which all the world sees in " his majesty, both a wonderful judgment in learn- " ing, and a singular affection towards learning, and " works which are of the mind more than of the hand. " For there cannot be the like honour sought and " found, in building of galleries,* and planting of " elms along high-ways, and in those outward or- " naments, wherein France is now so busy, things " rather of magnificence than of magnanimity, as " there is in the uniting of states,† pacifying of con- " troversies,‡ nourishing and augmenting of learn- " ing and arts, and the particular actions appertain- " ing to these; of which kind Cicero judged truly, " when he said to Cæsar, 'Quantum operibus tuis " detrahet vetustas, tantum addet laudibus.' And

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" * The magnificent gallery at the Louvre in Paris, built " by Henry IV."

" † The union of England and Scotland."

" ‡ The conference at Hampton Court held between the " bishops and puritans, as they were then called, soon after the " king's coming to the crown of England, and where his ma- " jesty was the moderator." *Stephens.*

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" lastly, I call to mind, that your lordship at some " times hath been pleased to express unto me a " great desire, that something of this nature should " be performed; answerable indeed to your other " noble and worthy courses and actions: joining " and adding unto the great services towards his " majesty, which have, in small compass of time, " been performed by your lordship, other great de- " servings both of the Church and commonwealth, " and particulars; so as the opinion of so great and " wise a man doth seem to me a good warrant both " of the possibility and worth of the matter. But " all this while I asure myself, I cannot be mistaken " by your lordship, as if I sought an office or em- " ployment for myself; for no man knows better " than your lordship, that if there were in me any " faculty thereunto, yet neither my course of life " nor profession would permit it; but because there " be so many good painters both for hand and co- " lours, it needeth but encouragement and instruc- " tions to give life unto it. So in all humbleness I " conclude my presenting unto your lordship this " wish; which, if it perish, it is but a loss of that " which is not. And so craving pardon that I have " taken so much time from your lordship, I remain—

The next letter is

" To the King, upon sending unto him a beginning " of the History of his Majesty's times.

" It may please your Majesty,

" Hearing that your Majesty is at leisure to pe- " ruse story, a desire took me to make an experiment

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"what I could do in your majesty's times, which "being but a leaf or two, I pray your pardon, if I "send it for your recreation; considering that love "must creep where it cannot go. But to these I "add these petitions: First, that if your majesty do "dislike any thing, you would conceive I can amend "it upon your least beck. Next, that if I have not "spoken of your majesty encomiastically, your ma-"jesty would be pleased only to ascribe it to the "law of an history; which doth not cluster together "praises upon the first mention of a name, but ra-"ther disperseth and weaveth them through the "whole narrative. And as for the proper place of "commemoration, which is in the period of life, I "pray God I may never live to write it. Thirdly, "that the reason why I presumed to think of this "oblation, was because whatsoever my disability be, "yet I shall have that advantage which almost no "writer of history hath had; in that I shall write "of times not only since I could remember, but since "I could observe. And lastly, that it is only for "your majesty's reading."

Of this tract Archbishop Tenison says, "This "was an essay, sent to King James, whose "times it considered. A work worthy his pen, had "he proceeded in it; seeing (as he saith) he should "have written of times, not only since he could re-"member, but since he could observe; and by way "of introduction, of times, as he further noteth, of "strange variety: the reign of a child: the offer of "usurpation by the Lady Jane, though it were but as

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"a diary ague; the reign of a lady married to a "foreigner, and the reign of a lady solitary and un- "married.

"His lordship, who had given such proof of his "skill in writing an History of England, leaving the "world, to the unspeakable loss of the learned part "of it; his late majesty, a great favourer of that "work, and wise in the choice of fit workmen, en- "couraged Sir Henry Wotton to endeavour it, by "his royal invitation, and a pension of 500*l.* per "annum. This proposal was made to that excel- "lent man, in his declining years; and he died after "the finishing some short characters of some few "kings; which characters are published in his "Remains.

STATE OF EUROPE.

This tract is supposed by Mallet to have been the first work written by Lord Bacon, and to have been written about the year 1580, when he was between 19 and 20 years of age:—because it states, "that Henry III. of France was then 30 years old: now that king began his reign in 1576, at the age of 24 years, so that Bacon was then 19." How far this evidence is satisfactory, may be collected from other parts of the same tract. It says, "Gregory XIII. of the age of 70 years:"—but Gregory XIII. was 70 years old in the year 1572, when he was elected Pope, so that according to this reasoning, it might be inferred that it was written when Bacon was 12 years of age. In another part

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of the tract it states, "The King of Spain, Philip, son to Charles the Fifth, about 60 years of age:" but he was born on the 21st of May, 1527, so that he was 60 years old in 1587, when Bacon was between 16 and 17 years old.—The Author of Bacon's Life in the Biographia Britannica, from these different dates, concludes that the tract was written at different periods of time, beginning, as he must suppose, when Bacon was quite a boy: but, as it was not necessary for the purposes of this tract that the ages of the different monarchs should be ascertained with great precision, it is, perhaps, not probable that they were accurately examined, and the only fair inference is that it was written at a very early period of his life.*

The same author says, "But what is extremely "remarkable in this small treatise, is the care and ac- "curacy with which he has set down most of the little "princes in Germany, with the state of their domi- "nions." This minute observation, however, extends to all his works: and of all the extraordinary properties of Bacon's wonderful mind, his constant observation of what, we, in common parlance, call trifles, appears to be one of the most extraordinary. "See," he says, "the little cloud upon glass or "gems or blades of swords, and mark well the dis- "charge of that cloud, and you shall perceive that

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"* The tract says, "D. Antonio, elect King of Portugal, is "now in France, where he hath levied soldiers, whereof part are "embarked, hoping to be restored again."

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"it ever breaks up first in the skirts, and last in the "midst. May we not learn from this the force of "union, even in the least quantities and weakest "bodies, how much it conduceth to preservation of "the present form and the resisting of a new. In "like manner, icicles, if there be water to follow "them, lengthen themselves out in a very slender "thread, to prevent a discontinuity of the water; "but if there be not a sufficient quantity to follow, "the water then falls in round drops, which is the "figure that best supports it against discontinuation; "and at the very instant when the thread of water "ends, and the falling in drops begins, the water re-"coils upwards to avoid being discontinued. So in "metals, which are fluid upon fusion, though a little "tenacious, some of the mettled mass frequently "springs up in drops, and sticks in that form to the "sides of the crucible. There is a like instance in "the looking-glasses, commonly made of spittle by "children, in a loop of rush or whalebone, where we "find a consistent pellicule of water." Possessing this peculiar property himself, Bacon constantly admonishes his readers of its importance. "The eye "of the understanding, (he says,) is like the eye "of the sense: for as you may see great objects "through small crannies or levels, so you may see "axioms of great nature through small and con-"temptible instances." And again, "it should be "considered as an oracle, the saying of the poor "woman to the haughty prince, who rejected "her petition as a thing below his dignity to "notice—'then cease to reign:' for it is cer-

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" tain, that whoever will not attend to matters " because they are too minute or trifling, shall " never obtain command or rule over nature." And again, " he who cannot contract the sight of " his mind as well as disperse and dilate it, wanteth " a great faculty: for certainly this may be averred " for truth, that they be not the highest instances, that " give the best and surest information. This is not " unaptly expressed in the tale, so common, of the " philosopher, who while he gazed upward to the " stars fell into the water; for if he had looked " down, he might have seen the stars in the water, " but looking up to heaven he could not see the " water in the stars. In like manner it often comes " to pass that small and mean things conduce more " to the discovery of great matters, than great " things to the discovery of small matters; and " therefore Aristotle notes well, that the nature of " every thing is best seen in its smallest portions. " For that cause he inquires the nature of a com- " monwealth, first in a family and the simple conju- " gations of society, man and wife; parents and " children; master and servant, which are in every " cottage. So likewise the nature of this great city " of the world, and the policy thereof, must be " sought in every first concordances and least por- " tions of things. So we see that secret of nature " (esteemed one of the great mysteries) of the " turning of iron touched with a loadstone towards " the poles, was found out in needles of iron, not in " bars of iron."

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BIOGRAPHY.

Of the importance of biography, Bacon speaks in his Advancement of Learning;* concluding his remarks by saying, "Bona Fama propria possessio "defunctorum," which possession I cannot but note, that in our times it lieth much waste and that therein there is a deficience. This deficience with respect to Elizabeth he was anxious to supply by the publication of his sentiments, "in Felicem Memoriam "Elizabethæ:" but this publication seems to have required some caution, and to have been attended with some difficulty. In 1605, Bacon thus spoke: "But for a tablet, or picture of smaller volume, "(not presuming to speak of your majesty that "liveth,) in my judgment the most excellent is that "of Queen Elizabeth, your immediate predecessor in "this part of Britain; a princess that, if Plutarch "were now alive to write lives by parallels, would "trouble him, I think, to find for her a parallel "amongst women. This lady was endued with "learning in her sex singular, and rare even amongst "masculine princes; whether we speak of learning, "language, or of science, modern, or ancient, divi-"nity or humanity: and unto the very last year of "her life she was accustomed to appoint set hours "for reading; scarcely any young student in any "university more daily, or more duly. As for her "government, I assure myself, I shall not exceed, "if I do affirm that this part of the island never had

* Page 111.

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"forty-five years of better times; and yet not "through the calmness of the season, but through "the wisdom of her regimen. For if there be con-"sidered of the one side, the truth of religion "established, the constant peace and security, the "good administration of justice, the temperate use "of the prerogative, not slackened, nor much "strained, the flourishing state of learning, suitable "to so excellent a patroness, the convenient estate "of wealth and means, both of crown and subject, the "habit of obedience, and the moderation of discon-"tents; and there be considered, on the other side, "the differences of religion, the troubles of neigh-"bour countries, the ambition of Spain, and opposi-"tion of Rome: and then, that she was solitary and "of herself: these things, I say, considered, as I "could not have chosen an instance so recent and "so proper, so, I suppose, I could not have chosen "one more remarkable or eminent to the purpose "now in hand, which is concerning the conjunction "of learning in the prince with felicity in the "people."* So he wrote in the year 1605; but, about the year 1612, "The King," says Wilson, "cast his thoughts towards Peterborough, where his mother lay, whom he caused to be translated to a magnificent tomb, at Westminster. And (somewhat suitable to her mind when she was living) she had a translucent passage in the night, through the city of London, by multitudes of torches: the ta-

* See ante xxxiii.

pers placed by the tomb and the altar, in the cathedral, smoking with them like an offertory, with all the ceremonies, and voices, their quires and copes could express, attended by many prelates and nobles, who paid this last tribute to her memory."* Before this time Bacon had written his essay in "Felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ," which he sent to Sir George Carew, whose death M. De Thou laments, in a letter to Mr. Camden, in the year 1613. The following is the letter to Sir George Carew.† "Being asked a question by "this bearer, an old servant of my brother Anthony "Bacon's, whether I would command him any "thing into France; and being at better leisure "than I would, in regard of sickness, I began to re-"member that neither your business nor mine, "though great and continual, can be, upon an exact "account, any just occasion why so much good-will "as hath passed between us should be so much dis-

* Wilson.

† Sir George Carew, of Cornwall, was Master in Chancery in "the time of queen Elizabeth; and in 1597 sent ambassador "into Poland; and in 1606 went to the court of France with the "like character. After about three years continuance, he was "recalled by the king to make use of his services at home; but "he survived not many years. M. De Thou in a letter to Mr. "Camden in 1613, very much laments his death; as losing a "friend he much valued, and an assistant in the prosecution of "his history: having received helps from him in that part which "relates to the dissentions between the Poles and the Swedes in "the year 1598, as appears before the contents of book cxxi."—*Stephens.*

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" continued as it hath been. And therefore, because
" one must begin, I thought to provoke your re-
" membrance of me by a letter: and thinking to
" fill it with somewhat besides salutations, it came to
" my mind, that this last summer vacation, by occa-
" sion of a factious book that endeavoured to verify
" Misera Fœmina, the addition of the pope's bull,
" upon Queen Elizabeth, I did write a few lines in
" her memorial, which I thought you would be
" pleased to read, both for the argument, and be-
" cause you were wont to bear affection to my pen.
" 'Verum, ut aliud ex alio,' if it came handsomely to
" pass, I would be glad the president De Thou, who
" hath written an history, as you know, of that fame
" and diligence, saw it; chiefly because I know not
" whether it may not serve him for some use in his
" story; wherein I would be glad he did write to
" the truth, and to the memory of that lady, as I
" perceive by that he hath already written he is well
" inclined to do. I would be glad also, it were
" some occasion, such as absence may permit, of
" some acquaintance or mutual notice between us.
" For though he hath many ways the precedence,
" chiefly in worth, yet this is common to us both,
" that we serve our sovereigns in places of law emi-
" nent: and not ourselves only, but that our fa-
" thers did so before us. And lastly, that both of
" us love learning and liberal sciences, which was
" ever a bond of friendship in the greatest distance
" of places. But of this I make no farther request,
" than your own occasions and respects, to me

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" known, may further or limit; my principal pur-
" pose being to salute you, and to send you this
" token: whereunto I will add my very kind com-
" mendations to my lady; and so commit you both
" to God's holy protection."

It seems probable that this tract was intended for publication during the life of the king. It says, " Restant felicitates posthumæ duæ, iis quæ
" vivam comitabantur fere celsiores et augustiores:
" una successoris, altera memoriæ. Nam successo-
" rem sortita est eum, qui licet et mascula virtute et
" prole, et nova imperii accessione fastigium ejus
" excedat et obumbret; tamen et nomini et honori-
" bus ejus faveat, et actis ejus quandam perpetuita-
" tem donet: cum nec ex personarum delectu, nec
" ex institutorum ordine, quicquam magnopere mu-
" taverit: adeo ut raro filius parenti, tanto silentio,
" atquæ tam exigua mutatione et perturbatione suc-
" cesserit."* But it was not published during the life of the author; and the praise of Elizabeth, in the Advancement of Learning, is wholly omitted, and certainly not for its want of beauty, in the treatise ' De Augmentis," published in 1623, where he also omits the passage already cited in this preface.† " Then the reign of a queen matched with a
" foreigner: then of a queen that lived solitary
" and unmarried, and yet her government so
" masculine that it had greater impression and

* See page 468 of this volume.

† Ante page xi.

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"operation upon the states abroad than it any ways "received from thence;" merely saying 'Rursus regnum fæminæ solitariæ et cœlibis.' Whatever were the motives by which he was induced to suppress, for a time, the just praise of Elizabeth, he ordered the publication in a will, which, he afterwards cancelled, but, in all probability, after some understanding with Dr. Rawley, that the publication should appear, as it did, soon after his death. This appears from Rawley's account.* "I thought it "fitting to intimate, that the discourse, within con- "tained, entitled, A Collection of the Felicities of "Queen Elizabeth; was written by his lordship "in Latin only: whereof, though his lordship had "his particular ends then; yet in regard that I "held it a duty, that her own nation, over which "she so happily reigned for many years, should "be acquainted and possessed with the virtues "of that excellent queen, as well as foreign na- "tions, I was induced, many years ago, to put "the same into the English tongue; not 'ad "verbum,' for that had been but flat and inju- "dicious; but, (as far, as my slender ability "could reach,) according to the expressions which "I conceived his lordship would have rendered "it in, if he had written the same in English: yet "ever acknowledging that Zeuxes, or Apelles' "pencil could not be attained, but by Zeuxes, or

* Preface to the Resuscitatio.

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" Apelles himself. This work, in the Latin, his " lordship so much affected, that he had ordained, " by his last will and testament, to have had it pub- " lished many years since: but that singular person " entrusted therewith, soon after deceased. And " therefore it must now expect a time to come " forth amongst his lordship's other Latin works." And Archbishop Tenison says, " the third is, a memo- " rial, entitled The Felicities of Queen Elizabeth. " This was written by his lordship in Latin only. A " person, of more good will than ability, translated " it into English, and called it in the singular, 'Her " Felicity. But we have also a version, much more " accurate and judicious, performed by Doctor " Rawley, who was pleased to take that labour upon " him, because he understood the value his lordship " put upon this work; for it was such, that I find " this charge given concerning it, in his last will " and testament. " In particular, I wish the eulogy " which I writ, in 'Felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ,' " may be published.'"

LIVES OF THE CÆSARS.

Of these tracts Tenison says, " the fifth is, " 'the Imago Civilis Julii Cæsaris.' The sixth, " 'Imago Civilis Augusti Cæsaris.' Both of them " short personal characters, and not histories of " their empire: and written by his lordship in that " tongue, which in their times was at its height, and " became the language of the world. A while since,

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"they were translated into English, and inserted "into the first part of the Resuscitation."

In the few lines upon the character of Augustus Cæsar, there is a maxim well deserving the deep consideration of every young man of sensibility, apt to be

Misled by fancy's meteor ray,
By passion driven:
And yet the light that leads astray,
Is light from heaven.

Bacon says, "those persons* which are of a tur- "bulent nature or appetite, do commonly pass their "youth in many errors; and about their middle, "and then and not before, they shew forth their "perfections; but those that are of a sedate and "calm nature, may be ripe for great and glorious "actions in their youth." The very same sentiment which he expresses in his Essay on Youth and Age. "Natures that have much heat, and great and "violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for "action till they have passed the meridian of their "years: as it was with Julius Cæsar and Septimius "Severus; of the latter of whom it is said, 'juven- "tutem egit, erroribus, imo furoribus plenam;' and "yet he was the ablest emperor, almost, of all the "list: but reposed natures may do well in youth, as "it is seen in Augustus Cæsar, Cosmus, duke of "Florence, Gaston de Foix, and others."

* Page 489.

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HENRY PRINCE OF WALES.

I have selected this piece of biography from the letters, and restored it to what appears to me to be its proper place. Of this a MS. may be found in the British Museum.

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THE

WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.

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THE PREFACE.

THE antiquities of the first age (except those we find in sacred writ) were buried in oblivion and silence: silence was succeeded by poetical fables; and fables again were followed by the records we now enjoy: so that the mysteries and secrets of antiquity were distinguished and separated from the records and evidences of succeeding times, by the veil of fiction, which interposed itself, and came between those things which perished and those which are extant. I suppose some are of opinion that my purpose is to write toys and trifles, and to usurp the same liberty in applying, that the poets assumed in feigning, which I might do (confess) if I listed, and with more serious contemplation intermix these things, to delight either myself in meditation, or others in reading. Neither am I ignorant how fickle and inconstant a thing fiction is, as being subject to be drawn and wrested any way, and how great the commodity of wit and discourse is, that is able to apply things well, yet so as never meant by the first authors. But I remember that this liberty hath

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been lately much abused, in that many, to purchase the reverence of antiquity to their own inventions and fancies, have for the same intent laboured to wrest many poetical fables; neither hath this old and common vanity been used only of late, or now and then: for even Chrysippus long ago did, as an interpreter of dreams, ascribe the opinions of the stoics to the ancient poets; and more sottishly do the chemists appropriate the fancies and delights of poets in the transformations of bodies to the experiments of their furnace. All these things, I say, I have sufficiently considered and weighed; and in them have seen and noted the general levity and indulgence of men's wits above allegories; and yet for all this, I relinquish not my opinion.

For, first, it may not be that the folly and looseness of a few should altogether detract from the respect due to the parables; for that were a conceit which might savour of profaneness and presumption; for religion itself doth sometimes delight in such veils and shadows; so that whoso exempts them, seems in a manner to interdict all commerce between things divine and human. But concerning human wisdom, I do indeed ingenuously and freely confess, that I am inclined to imagine, that under some of the ancient fictions lay couched certain mysteries and allegories, even from their first invention; and I am persuaded, whether ravished with the reverence of antiquity, or because in some fables I find such singular proportion between the similitude and the thing signified, and such apt and clear cohe-

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rence in the very structure of them, and propriety of names wherewith the persons or actors in them are ascribed and intituled, that no man can constantly deny but this sense was in the author's intent and meaning, when they first invented them, and that they purposely shadowed it in this sort: for who can be so stupid and blind in the open light, as (when he hears how fame, after the giants were destroyed, sprang up as their youngest sister), not to refer it to the murmurs and seditious reports of both sides, which are wont to fly abroad for a time after the suppressing of insurrections? Or when he hears how the giant Typhon having cut out and brought away Jupiter's nerves, which Mercury stole from him, and restored again to Jupiter; doth not presently perceive how fitly it may be applied to powerful rebellions, which take from princes their sinews of money and authority; but so, that by affability of speech and wise edicts (the minds of their subjects being in time privily, and as it were by stealth reconciled) they recover their strength again? Or when he hears how, in that memorable expedition of the gods against the giants, the braying of Silenus's ass, conduced much to the profligation of the giants, doth not confidently imagine that it was invented to shew how the greatest enterprises of rebels are oftentimes dispersed with vain rumours and fears.

Moreover, to what judgment can the conformity and signification of names seem obscure? Seeing Metis, the wife of Jupiter, doth plainly signify counsel; Typhon, insurrection; Pan, universality; Ne-

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mesis, revenge; and the like. Neither let it trouble any man, if sometimes he meet with historical narrations, or additions for ornament's sake, or confusion of times, or something transferred from one fable to another, to bring in a new allegory; for it could be no otherwise, seeing they were the inventions of men which lived in divers ages, and had also divers ends, some being ancient, others neoterical; some have an eye to things natural, others to moral.

There is another argument, and that no small one neither, to prove that these fables contain certain hidden and involved meanings, seeing some of them are observed to be so absurd and foolish in the very relation that they shew, and, as it were, proclaim a parable afar off; for such tales as are probable they may seem to be invented for delight and in imitation of history. And as for such as no man would so much as imagine or relate, they seem to be sought out for other ends: for what kind of fiction is that wherein Jupiter is said to have taken Metis to wife, and perceiving that she was with child, to have devoured her, whence himself conceiving, brought forth Pallas armed out of his head? Truly, I think there was never dream, so different to the course of cogitation and so full of monstrosity, ever hatched in the brain of man. Above all things this prevails most with me, and is of singular moment; many of these fables seem not to be invented of those by whom they are related and celebrated, as by Homer, Hesiod, and others: for if it were so, that they took beginning in that age, and from those authors by whom

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they are delivered and brought to our hands, my mind gives me there could be no great or high matter expected, or supposed to proceed from them in respect of these originals. But if with attention we consider the matter, it will appear that they were delivered and related as things formerly believed and received, and not as newly invented and offered unto us. Besides, seeing they are diversely related by writers that lived near about one and the self same time, we may easily perceive that they were common things derived from precedent memorials; and that they became various by reason of the divers ornaments bestowed on them by particular relations; and the consideration of this must needs increase in us a great opinion of them, as not to be accounted either the effects of the times or inventions of the poets, but as sacred relics or abstracted airs of better times, which, by tradition from more ancient nations, fell into the trumpets and flutes of the Grecians. But if any do obstinately contend, that allegories are always adventitially, and as it were by constraint, never naturally and properly included in fables, we will not be much troublesome, but suffer them to enjoy that gravity of judgment which I am sure they affect, although indeed it be but lumpish and almost leaden. And, if they be worthy to be taken notice of, we will begin afresh with them in some other fashion.

There is found among men, and it goes for current, a twofold use of parables, and those, which is more to be admired, referred to contrary ends, con-

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ducing as well to the folding up and keeping of things under a veil, as to the enlightening and laying open of obscurities. But, omitting the former, rather than to undergo wrangling, and assuming ancient fables as things vagrant and composed only for delight, the latter must questionlesss till remain as not to be wrested from us by any violence of wit, neither can any (that is but meanly learned) hinder, but it must absolutely be received as a thing grave and sober, free from all vanity, and exceeding profitable and necessary to all sciences. This is it, I say, that leads the understanding of man by an easy and gentle passage through all novel and abstruse inventions which any way differ from common received opinions. Therefore, in the first ages, (when many human inventions and conclusions, which are now common and vulgar, were new and not generally known,) all things were full of fables, enigmas, parables, and similes of all sorts; by which they sought to teach and lay open, not to hide and conceal knowledge, especially seeing the understandings of men were in those times rude and impatient, and almost incapable of any subtilties, such things only excepted as were the objects of sense; for, as hieroglyphics preceded letters, so parables were more ancient than arguments: and in these days also, he that would illuminate men's minds anew in any old matter, and that not with disprofit and harshness, must absolutely take the same course, and use the help of similes. Wherefore after all that hath been said, we will thus conclude, the wisdom of the ancients,

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it was either much or happy: much, if these figures and tropes were invented by study and premeditation; happy, if they, intending nothing less, gave matter and occasion to so many worthy meditations. As concerning my labours, if there be any thing in them which may do good, I will on neither part count them ill bestowed, my purpose being to illustrate either antiquity or things themselves. Neither am I ignorant that this very subject hath been attempted by others: but to speak as I think, and that freely, without ostentation, the dignity and efficacy of the thing, is almost lost by these men's writings, though voluminous and full of pains, whilst not diving into the depth of matters, but skilful only in certain common places, have applied the sense of these parables to certain vulgar and general things, not so much as glancing at their true virtue, genuine propriety, and full depth. I, if I be not deceived, shall be new in common things; wherefore, leaving such as are plain and open, I will aim at further and richer matters.

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THE

WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.

CASSANDRA, OR DIVINATION.

The poets fable, that Apollo being enamoured of Cassandra, was, by her many shifts and cunning sleights, still deluded in his desire; but yet fed on with hope until such time as she had drawn from him the gift of prophecying; and having by such her dissimulation, in the end attained to that, which from the beginning she sought after, at last flatly rejected his suit: who, finding himself so far engaged in his promise, as that he could not by any means revoke again his rash gift, and yet inflamed with an earnest desire of revenge, highly disdaining to be made the scorn of a crafty wench, annexed a penalty to his promise, to wit, that she should ever foretel the truth but never be believed; so were her divinations always faithful, but at no time regarded, whereof she still found the experience, yea, even in the ruin of her own country, which she had often forewarned them of, but they neither gave credit nor ear to her words.

This fable seems to intimate the unprofitable liberty of untimely admonitions and counsels: for

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they that are so overweened with the sharpness and dexterity of their own wit and capacity, as that they disdain to submit themselves to the documents of Apollo, the god of harmony, whereby to learn and observe the method and measure of affairs, the grace and gravity of discourse, the differences between the more judicious and more vulgar ears, and the due times when to speak and when to be silent; be they never so sensible and pregnant, and their judgments never so profound and profitable, yet in all their endeavours either of persuasion or perforce, they avail nothing; neither are they of any moment to advantage or manage matters, but do rather hasten on the ruin of all those that they adhere or devote themselves unto; and then, at last when calamity hath made men feel the event of neglect, then shall they, too late, be reverenced as deep foreseeing and faithful prophets: whereof a notable instance is eminently set forth in Marcus Cato Uticensis, who as from a watch-tower discovered afar off, and as an oracle long foretold, the approaching ruin of his country, and the plotted tyranny hovering over the state, both in the first conspiracy, and as it was prosecuted in the civil contention between Cæsar and Pompey, and did no good the while, but rather harmed the commonwealth and hastened on his country's bane; which M. Cicero wisely observed, and writing to a familiar friend, doth in these terms excellently describe, "Cato optime sentit, sed nocet "interdum Reipublicæ: loquitur enim tanquam in

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" Republicâ Platonis, non tanquam in fæce Romuli." Cato (saith he) judgeth profoundly, but in the mean time damnifies the state, for he speaks as in the commonwealth of Plato and not as in the dregs of Romulus.

TYPHON, OR A REBEL.

Juno, being vexed (say the poets) that Jupiter had begotten Pallas by himself without her, earnestly pressed all the other gods and goddesses, that she might also bring forth of herself alone without him; and having by violence and importunity obtained a grant thereof, she smote the earth, and forthwith sprang up Typhon, a huge and horrid monster. This strange birth she commits to a serpent, as a foster-father, to nourish it; who no sooner came to ripeness of years but he provokes Jupiter to battle. In the conflict, the giant getting the upper hand, takes Jupiter upon his shoulders, carries him into a remote and obscure country, and (cutting out the sinews of his hands and feet) brought them away, and so left him miserably mangled and maimed; but Mercury recovering these nerves from Typhon by stealth, restored them again to Jupiter. Jupiter being again by this means corroborated, assaults the monster afresh, and at the first strikes him with a thunderbolt, from whose blood serpents were engendered. This monster at length fainting and flying, Jupiter casts on him the mount Ætna, and with the weight thereof crushed him.

This fable seems to point at the variable fortune

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of princes, and the rebellious insurrection of traitors in a state. For princes may well be said to be married to their dominions, as Jupiter was to Juno; but it happens now and then, that being deboshed by the long custom of empiring and bending towards tyranny, they endeavour to draw all to themselves, and, contemning the counsel of their nobles and senators, hatched laws in their own brain, that is, dispose of things by their own fancy and absolute power. The people, repining at this, study how to create and set up a chief of their own choice. This project, by the secret instigation of the peers and nobles, doth for the most part take his beginning; by whose connivance the commons being set on edge, there follows a kind of murmuring or discontent in the state, shadowed by the infancy of Typhon, which being nursed by the natural pravity and clownish malignity of the vulgar sort, (unto princes as infestuous as serpents,) is again repaired by renewed strength, and at last breaks out into open rebellion, which, because it brings infinite mischiefs upon prince and people, is represented by the monstrous deformity of Typhon: his hundred heads signify their divided powers, his fiery mouths their inflamed intents, his serpentine circles their pestilent malice in besieging, his iron hands their merciless slaughters, his eagle's talons their greedy rapines, his plumed body their continual rumours, and scouts, and fears, and such like; and sometimes these rebellions grow so potent, that princes are enforced (transported as it were by the rebels, and forsaking the chief seats and cities of the

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kingdom) to contract their power, and, being deprived of the sinews of money and majesty, betake themselves to some remote and obscure corner within their dominions; but in process of time, if they bear their misfortunes with moderation, they may recover their strength by the virtue and industry of Mercury, that is, they may, by becoming affable, and by reconciling the minds and wills of their subjects with grave edicts and gracious speech, excite an alacrity to grant aids and subsidies whereby to strengthen their authority anew. Nevertheless, having learned to be wise and wary, they will refrain to try the chance of fortune by war, and yet study how to suppress the reputation of the rebels by some famous action, which if it fall out answerable to their expectation, the rebels, finding themselves weakened, and fearing the success of their broken projects, betake themselves to some sleight and vain bravadoes like the hissing of serpents, and at length in despair betake themselves to flight, and then when they begin to break, it is safe and timely for kings to pursue and oppress them with the forces and weight of the kingdom, as it were with the mountain Ætna.

THE CYCLOPS, OR THE MINISTERS OF TERROR.

They say that the Cyclops, for their fierceness and cruelty, were by Jupiter cast into hell, and there doomed to perpetual imprisonment; but Tellus persuaded Jupiter that it would do well, if being set at liberty, they were put to forge thunder-bolts, which

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being done accordingly, they became so painful and industrious, as that day and night they continued hammering out in laborious diligence thunder-bolts and other instruments of terror. In process of time Jupiter having conceived a displeasure against Æsculapius, the son of Apollo, for restoring a dead man to life by physic, and concealing his dislike because there was no just cause of anger, the deed being pious and famous, secretly incensed the Cyclops against him, who without delay slew him with a thunder-bolt; in revenge of which act, Apollo, Jupiter not prohibiting it, shot them to death with his arrows.

This fable may be applied to the projects of kings, who having cruel, bloody, and exacting officers, do first punish and displace them: afterwards, by the counsel of Tellus, that is of some base and ignoble person, and by the prevailing respect of profit, they admit them into their places again, that they may have instruments in a readiness, if at any time there should need either severity of execution or acerbity of exaction. These servile creatures being by nature cruel, and by their former fortune exasperated, and perceiving well what is expected at their hands, do shew themselves wonderful officious in such kind of employments; but being too rash and precipitate in seeking countenance and creeping into favour, do sometimes take occasion, from the secret beckonings and ambiguous commands of their prince, to perform some hateful execution. But princes abhorring the fact, and knowing well that

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they shall never want such kind of instruments, do utterly forsake them, turning them over to the friends and allies of the wronged, to their accusations and revenge, and to the general hatred of the people; so that with great applause and prosperous wishes and acclamations towards the Prince, they are brought rather too late than undeservedly to a miserable end.

NARCISSUS, OR SELF LOVE.

They say that Narcissus was exceeding fair and beautiful, but wonderful proud and disdainful; wherefore despising all others in respect of himself, he leads a solitary life in the woods and chases with a few followers, to whom he alone was all in all; amongst the rest there follows him the nymph Echo. During his course of life, it fatally so chanced that he came to a clear fountain, upon the bank whereof he lay down to repose himself in the heat of the day; and having espied the shadow of his own face in the water, was so besotted and ravished with the contemplation and admiration thereof, that he by no means possibly could be drawn from beholding his image in this glass; insomuch, that by continual gazing thereupon, he pined away to nothing, and was at last turned into a flower of his own name, which appears in the beginning of the spring, and is sacred to the infernal powers, Pluto, Proserpina, and the Furies.

This fable seems to shew the dispositions and fortunes of those, who in respect either of their

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beauty or other gift wherewith they are adorned and graced by nature, without the help of industry, are so far besotted in themselves as that they prove the cause of their own destruction. For it is the property of men infected with this humour not to come much abroad, or to be conversant in civil affairs; specially seeing those that are in public place must of necessity encounter with many contempts and scorns which may much deject and trouble their minds; and therefore they lead for the most part a solitary, private, and obscure life, attended on with a few followers, and those such as will adore and admire them, like an echo, flatter them in all their sayings, and applaud them in all their words; so that being by this custom seduced and puffed up, and as it were stupified with the admiration of themselves, they are possessed with so strange a sloth and idleness, that they grow in a manner benumbed and defective of all vigour and alacrity. Elegantly doth this flower, appearing in the beginning of the spring, represent the likeness of these men's dispositions, who in their youth do flourish and wax famous; but being come to ripeness of years, they deceive and frustrate the good hope that is conceived of them. Neither is it impertinent that this flower is said to be consecrated to the infernal deities, because men of this disposition become unprofitable to all human things. For whatsoever produceth no fruit of itself, but passeth and vanisheth as if it never had been, like the way of a ship in the sea, that the ancients were wont to dedicate to the ghosts and powers below.

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STYX, OR LEAGUES.

The oath by which the gods were wont to oblige themselves when they meant to ratify any thing so firmly as never to revoke it, is a thing well known to the vulgar, as being mentioned almost in every fable, which was, when they did not invoke or call to witness any celestial majesty or divine power, but only the river Styx, that with crooked and meandry turnings encircleth the palace of the infernal Dis. This was held as the only manner of their sacrament, and, besides it, not any other vow to be accounted firm and inviolable, and therefore the punishment to be inflicted, if any did perjure themselves, was, that for certain years they should be put out of commons, and not to be admitted to the table of the gods.

This fable seems to point at the leagues and pacts of princes, of which more truly than opportunely may be said, that be they never so strongly confirmed with the solemnity and religion of an oath, yet are for the most part of no validity; insomuch, that they are made rather with an eye to reputation, and report, and ceremony, than to faith, security, and effect. Moreover, add to these the bonds of affinity, as the sacraments of nature, and mutual deserts of each part, and you shall observe, that with a great many, all these things are placed a degree under ambition and profit, and the licentious desire of domination; and so much the rather, because it is an easy thing for princes to defend and cover their unlawful desires and unfaithful vows with many out-

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wardly seeming fair pretexts, especially seeing there is no umpire or moderator of matters concluded upon, to whom a reason should be tendered. Therefore there is no true and proper thing made choice of for the confirmation of faith, and that no celestial power neither, but is indeed necessity (a great god to great potentates) the peril also of state, and the communication of profit. As for necessity, it is elegantly represented by Styx, that fatal and irremeable river; and this godhead did Ipichrates, the Athenian, call to the confirmation of a league, who, because he alone is found to speak plainly that which many hide covertly in their breasts, it would not be amiss to relate his words. He observing how the Lacædemonians had thought upon and propounded divers cautions, sanctions, confirmations, and bonds, pertaining to leagues, interposed thus: "Unum "Lacedæmonii, nobis vobiscum vinculum, et securi-"tatis ratio esse possit, si plane demonstretis, vos ea "nobis concessisse, et inter manus posuisse, ut vobis "facultas lædendi nos si maxime velletis minime "suppetere possit." There is one thing, oh Lacædemonians! that would link us unto you in the bond of amity, and be the occasion of peace and security, which is, if you would plainly demonstrate that you have yielded up and put into our hands such things as that, would you hurt us never so fain, you should yet be disfurnished of means to do it. If, therefore, the power of hurting be taken away, or if, by breach of league, there follow the danger of the ruin or diminution of the state or tribute, then indeed the

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leagues may seem to be ratified and established, and as it were confirmed by the sacrament of the Stygian lake; seeing that it includes the fear of prohibition and suspension from the table of the gods, under which name the laws and prerogatives, the plenty and felicity of a kingdom were signified by the ancients.

PAN, OR NATURE.

The ancients have exquisitely described Nature under the person of Pan, whose original they leave doubtful; for some say that he was the son of Mercury, others attribute unto him a far different beginning, affirming him to be the common offspring of Penelope's suitors, upon a suspicion that every one of them had to do with her; which latter relation doubtless gave occasion to some after writers to entitle this ancient fable with the name of Penelope; a thing very frequent amongst them when they apply old fictions to young persons and names, and that many times absurdly and indiscreetly, as may be seen here: for Pan, being one of the ancient gods, was long before the time of Ulysses and Penelope. Besides, for her matronal chastity, she was held venerable by antiquity. Neither may we pretermit the third conceit of his birth: for some say that he was the son of Jupiter and Hybris, which signifies contumely or disdain: but howsoever begotten, the Parcæ, they say, were his sisters. He is pourtrayed by the ancients in this guise; on his head a pair of horns to reach to heaven, his body rough and hairy, his beard long and

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shaggy, his shape biformed, above like a man, below like a beast, his feet like goats' hoofs; bearing these ensigns of his jurisdiction, to wit, in his left hand a pipe of seven reeds, and in his right a sheephook, or a staff crooked at the upper end, and his mantle made of a leopard's skin. His dignities and offices were these: he was the god of hunters, of shepherds, and of all rural inhabitants; chief president also of hills and mountains; and, next to Mercury, the ambassador of the gods. Moreover, he was accounted the leader and commander of the nymphs, which were always wont to dance the rounds, and frisk about him: he was accosted by the satyrs and the old Sileni. He had power also to strike men with terrours, and those especially vain and superstitious, which are termed panick fears. His acts were not many, for ought that can be found in records; the chiefest was, that he challenged Cupid at wrestling, in which conflict he had the foil. The tale goes, too, how that he caught the giant Typhon in a net, and held him fast. Moreover, when Ceres, grumbling and chafing that Proserpina was ravished, had hid herself away, and that all the gods took pains, by dispersing themselves into every corner, to find her out, it was only his good hap, as he was hunting, to light on her, and acquaint the rest where she was. He presumed also to put it to the trial who was the best musician, he or Apollo; and by the judgement of Midas was indeed preferred: but the wise judge had a pair of asses' ears privily chopped to his noddle for his sentence. Of his love tricks there is nothing re-

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ported, or at least not much; a thing to be wondered at, especially being among a troop of gods so profusely amorous. This only is said of him, that he loved the nymph Echo, whom he took to wife; and one pretty wench more called Syrinx, towards whom Cupid, in an angry and revengeful humour, because so audaciously he had challenged him at wrestling, inflamed his desire. Moreover, he had no issue, which is a marvel also, seeing the gods, especially those of the male kind, were very generative, only he was the reputed father of a little girl called Iambe, that with many pretty tales was wont to make strangers merry: but some think that he did indeed beget her by his wife Iambe.

This, if any be, is a noble tale, as being laid out and big bellied with the secrets and mysteries of nature. Pan, as his name imports, represents and lays open the all of things or nature. Concerning his original there are two only opinions that go for current; for either he came of Mercury, that is, the Word of God, which the holy Scriptures without all controversy affirm, and such of the philosophers as had any smack of divinity assented unto, or else from the confused seeds of things. For they that would have one simple beginning, refer it unto God; or if a materiate beginning, they would have it various in power; so that we may end the controversy with this distribution, that the world took beginning, either from Mercury, or from the seeds of all things.

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VIRG. ECLOG. 6.

" Namque canebat uti magnum per inane coacta.
" Semina, terrarumque, animæque marisque fuissent.
" Et liquidi simul ignis: Et his exordia primis
" Omnia et ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis."

For rich-vein'd Orpheus sweetly did rehearse
How that the seeds of fire, air, water, earth,
Were all pact in the vast void universe:
And how from these, as firstlings, all had birth,
And how the body of this orbick frame,
From tender infancy so big became.

But as touching the third conceit of Pan's original, it seems that the Grecians, either by intercourse with the Egyptians, or one way or other, had heard something of the Hebrew mysteries; for it points to the state of the world, not considered in immediate creation, but after the fall of Adam, exposed and made subject to death and corruption; for in that state it was, and remains to this day, the offspring of God and sin; and therefore all these three narrations concerning the manner of Pan's birth may seem to be true, if it be rightly distinguished between things and times. For this Pan, or Nature, which we inspect, contemplate, and reverence more than is fit, took beginning from the word of God by the means of confused matter, and the entrance of prevarication and corruption. The destinies may well be thought the sisters of Pan, or Nature, because the beginnings and continuances, and corruptions, and depressions, and dissolutions, and eminences, and labours, and felicities of things, and all the chances which can

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happen unto any thing, are linked with the chain of causes natural.

Horns are attributed unto him, because horns are broad at the root and sharp at the ends, the nature of all things being like a pyramis, sharp at the top. For individual or singular things being infinite are first collected into species, which are many also; then from species into generals, and from generals, by ascending, are contracted into things or notions more general; so that at length Nature may seem to be contracted into an unity. Neither is it to be wondered at that Pan toucheth heaven with his horns, seeing the height of nature or universal ideas do in some sort pertain to things divine; and there is a ready and short passage from metaphysic to natural theology.

The body of nature is elegantly and with deep judgement depainted hairy, representing the beams or operations of creatures; for beams are, as it were, the hairs and bristles of nature; and every creature is either more or less beamy, which is most apparent in the faculty of seeing, and no less in every virtue and operation that effectuates upon a distant object; for whatsoever works up any thing afar off, that may rightly be said to dart forth rays or beams.

Moreover, Pan's beard is said to be exceeding long, because the beams or influences of celestial bodies do operate and pierce farthest of all; and the sun, when his higher half is shadowed with a cloud, his beams break out in the lower, and looks as if he were bearded.

Nature is also excellently set forth with a

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biformed body, with respect to the differences between superior and inferior creatures. For one part, by reason of their pulchritude and equability of motion, and constancy and dominion over the earth and earthly things, is worthily set out by the shape of man; and the other part in respect of their perturbations and unconstant motions, and therefore needing to be moderated by the celestial, may be well fitted with the figure of a brute beast. This description of his body pertains also to the participation of species; for no natural being seems to be simple, but as it were participated and compounded of two; as for example, man hath something of a beast, a beast something of a plant, a plant something of inanimate body, of that all natural things are in very deed biformed, that is to say, compounded of a superior and inferior species.

It is a witty allegory that same, of the feet of the goat, by reason of the upward tending motion of terrestrial bodies towards the air and heaven; for the goat is a climbing creature, that loves to be hanging about the rocks and steep mountains; and this is done also in a wonderful manner even by those things which are destinated to this inferior globe, as may manifestly appear in clouds and meteors.

The two ensigns which Pan bears in his hands do point, the one at harmony, the other at empire: for the pipe, consisting of seven reeds, doth evidently demonstrate the consent, and harmony, and discordant concord of all inferior creatures, which is caused by the motion of the seven planets: and that of the sheep-hook may be excellently applied to the

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order of nature, which is partly right, partly crooked; this staff therefore or rod is specially crooked in the upper end, because all the works of divine Providence in the world are done in a far fetched and circular manner, so that one thing may seem to be effected, and yet indeed a clean contrary brought to pass, as the selling of Joseph into Egypt, and the like. Besides, in all wise human government, they that sit at the helm do more happily bring their purposes about, and insinuate more easily into the minds of the people by pretext and oblique courses than by direct methods: so that all sceptres and masses of authority ought in very deed to be crooked in the upper end.

Pan's cloak or mantle is ingeniously feigned to be a skin of a leopard, because it is full of spots: so the heavens are spotted with stars, the sea with rocks and islands, the land with flowers, and every particular creature also is for the most part garnished with divers colours about the superficies, which is as it were a mantle unto it.

The office of Pan can be by nothing so lively conceived and expressed, as by feigning him to be the god of hunters; for every natural action, and so by consequence motion and progression, is nothing else but a hunting. Arts and sciences have their works, and human counsels their ends, which they earnestly hunt after. All natural things have either their food as a prey, or their pleasure as a recreation which they seek for, and that in a most expert and sagacious manner.

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" Torva leæna lupum sequitur, lupus ipse capellam.
" Florentem cytisum sequitur lasciva capella.

The hungry lioness, with sharp desire,
Pursues the wolf, the wolf the wanton goat:
The goat again doth greedily aspire
To have the trefoil juice pass down her throat.

Pan is also said to be the god of the country-clowns; because men of this condition lead lives more agreeable unto nature than those that live in the cities and courts of princes, where nature, by too much art, is corrupted; so as the saying of the poet, though in the sense of love, might be here verified:

" Pars minima est ipsa puella sui."

The maid so trick'd herself with art,
That of herself she is least part.

He was held to be lord president of the mountains; because in the high mountains and hills nature lays herself most open, and men most apt to view and contemplation.

Whereas Pan is said to be, next unto Mercury, the messenger of the gods, there is in that a divine mystery contained; for, next to the word of God, the image of the world proclaims the power and wisdom divine, as sings the sacred poet. Psal. xix. 1. " Cœli enarrant gloriam Dei atque opera manuum " ejus indicat firmamentum." The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth the works of his hands.

The nymphs, that is, the souls of living things, take great delight in Pan: for these souls are the

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delights or minions of nature; and the direction or conduct of these nymphs is, with great reason, attributed unto Pan, because the souls of all things living do follow their natural dispositions as their guides; and with infinite variety every one of them, after his own fashion, doth leap, and frisk, and dance, with incessant motions about her. The satyrs and Sileni also, to wit, youth and old age, are some of Pan's followers: for of all natural things, there is a lively, jocund, and, as I may say, a dancing age; and an age again that is dull, bibling, and reeling. The carriages and dispositions of both which ages, to some such as Democritus was, that would observe them duly, might, peradventure, seem as ridiculous and deformed as the gambols of the satyrs, or the gestures of the Sileni.

Of those fears and terrours which Pan is said to be the author, there may be this wise construction made: namely, that nature hath bred in every living thing a kind of care and fear tending to the preservation of its own life and being, and to the repelling and shunning of all things hurtful; and yet nature knows not how to keep a mean, but always intermixes vain and empty fears with such as are discreet and profitable: so that all things, if their insides might be seen, would appear full of panick frights; but men, especially in hard, fearful, and diverse times, are wonderfully infatuated with superstition, which indeed is nothing else but a panick terrour.

Concerning the audacity of Pan in challenging Cupid at wrestling: the meaning of it is, that matter

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wants not inclination and desire to the relapsing and dissolution of the world into the old chaos, if her malice and violence were not restrained and kept in order by the prepotent unity and agreement of things, signified by Cupid or the god of love; and therefore it was a happy turn for men, and all things else, that in that conflict Pan was found too weak and overcome.

To the same effect may be interpreted his catching of Typhon in a net; for howsoever there may sometimes happen vast and unwonted tumours, as the name of Typhon imports, either in the sea or in the air, or in the earth, or elsewhere; yet nature doth entangle it in an intricate toil, and curb and restrain it as it were with a chain of adamant, the excesses and insolencies of these kind of bodies.

But forasmuch as it was Pan's good fortune to find out Ceres as he was hunting, and thought little of it, which none of the other gods could do, though they did nothing else but seek her, and that very seriously, it gives us this true and grave admonition, that we expect not to receive things necessary for life and manners from philosophical abstractions, as from the greater gods; albeit they applied themselves to no other study but from Pan; that is, from the discreet observation and experience, and the universal knowledge of the things of this world; whereby, oftentimes even by chance, and as it were going a hunting, such inventions are lighted upon.

The quarrel he made with Apollo about music, and the event thereof, contains a wholesome instruc-

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tion, which may serve to restrain men's reasons and judgements with reins of sobriety, from boasting and glorying in their gifts; for there seems to be a two-fold harmony or music, the one of divine Providence, and the other of human reason. Now to the ears of mortals, that is to human judgement, the administration of the world and creatures therein, and the more secret judgements of God, sound very hard and harsh; which folly, albeit it be well set out with asses' ears, yet notwithstanding these ears are secret, and do not openly appear; neither is it perceived or noted as a deformity by the vulgar.

Lastly, it is not to be wondered at, that there is nothing attributed unto Pan concerning loves, but only of his marriage with Echo; for the world or nature doth enjoy itself, and in itself all things else. Now he that loves would enjoy something, but where there is enough there is no place left to desire; therefore there can be no wanting love in Pan, or the world, nor desire to obtain any thing, seeing he is contented with himself, but only speeches, which, if plain, may be intimated by the nymph Echo, or, if more quaint, by Syrinx. It is an excellent invention that Pan, or the world, is said to make choice of Echo only, above all other speeches or voices, for his wife; for that alone is true philosophy which doth faithfully render the very words of the world; and it is written no otherwise than the world doth dictate, it being nothing else but the image or reflection of it, not adding any thing of its own, but only iterates and resounds. It belongs also to the sufficiency or

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perfection of the world, that he begets no issue; for the world doth generate in respect of its parts; but in respect of the whole, how can it generate, seeing without it there is no body? Notwithstanding all this, the tale of that tattling girl faltered upon Pan, may in very deed, with great reason, be added to this fable; for by her are represented those vain and idle paradoxes concerning the nature of things which have been frequent in all ages, and have filled the world with novelties; fruitless, if you respect the matter; changelings, if you respect the kind; sometimes creating pleasure, sometimes tediousness, with their overmuch prattling.

PERSEUS, OR WAR.

Perseus is said to have been employed by Pallas for the destroying of Medusa, who was very infestuous to the western parts of the world, and especially about the utmost coasts of Hiberia; a monster so dire and horrid, that by her only aspect she turned men into stones. This Medusa alone of all the Gorgons was mortal, the rest not subject to death. Perseus, therefore, preparing himself for this noble enterprise, had arms and gifts bestowed on him by three of the gods; Mercury gave him wings annexed to his heels, Pluto a helmet, Pallas a shield and a looking-glass. Notwithstanding, although he were thus furnished, he went not directly to Medusa, but first to the Greæ, which, by the mother's side, were sisters to the Gorgons. These Greæ from their birth were hoar-headed, resembling old women; they had but one

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only eye and one tooth among them all, both which, she that had occasion to go abroad, was wont to take with her, and at her return to lay them down again. This eye and tooth they lent to Perseus; and so finding himself thoroughly furnished for the effecting of his design, hastens towards Medusa. Her he found sleeping, and yet durst not present himself with his face towards her lest she should awake; but turning his head aside beheld her in Pallas's glass, and, by this means directing his blow, cut off her head; from whose blood gushing out, instantly came Pegasus, the flying-horse. Her head thus smote off, Perseus bestows on Pallas's shield, which yet retained this virtue, that whatsoever looked upon it should become as stupid as a stone, or like one planet-strucken.

This fable seems to direct the preparation and order that is to be used in making of war; for the more apt and considerate undertaking whereof, three grave and wholesome precepts, savouring of the wisdom of Pallas, are to be observed.

First, That men do not much trouble themselves about the conquest of neighbour nations, seeing that private possessions and empires are enlarged by different means; for in the augmentation of private revenues, the vicinity of men's territories is to be considered; but in the propagation of public dominions, the occasion and facility of making war, and the fruit to be expected ought to be instead of vicinity. Certainly the Romans, what time their conquests towards the west scarce reached beyond Liguria, did yet in the east bring all the provinces as far as the

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mountain Taurus within the compass of their arms and command; and therefore Perseus, although he were bred and born in the east, did not yet refuse to undertake an expedition even to the uttermost bounds of the west.

Secondly, There must be a care had, that the motives of war be just and honourable; for that begets an alacrity as well in the soldiers that fight as in the people that pay; it draws on and procures aids, and brings many other commodities besides. But there is no pretence to take up arms more pious, than the suppressing of tyranny; under which yoke the people lose their courage, and are cast down without heart and vigour as in the sight of Medusa.

Thirdly, It is wisely added, that seeing there were three Gorgons, by which wars are represented, Perseus undertook her only that was mortal; that is, he made choice of such a kind of war as was likely to be effected and brought to a period, not pursuing vast and endless hopes.

The furnishing of Perseus with necessaries was that which only advanced his attempt, and drew fortune to be of his side; for he had speed from Mercury, concealing of his counsels from Orcus, and Providence from Pallas.

Neither is it without an allegory, and that full of matter too, that those wings of celerity were fastened to Perseus' heels and not to his ancles, to his feet and not to his shoulders; because speed and celerity are required, not so much in the first preparations for war, as in those things which second and yield aid to

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the first; for there is no errour in war more frequent, than that prosecutions and subsidiary forces do fail to answer the alacrity of the first onsets.

Now for that helmet which Pluto gave him, powerful to make men invisible, the moral is plain; but that twofold gift of Providence, to wit, the shield and looking-glass, is full of morality; for that kind of Providence, which like a shield avoids the force of blows, is not alone needful, but that also by which the strength and motions and counsels of the enemy are descried, as in the looking-glass of Pallas.

But Perseus, albeit he were sufficiently furnished with aid and courage, yet was he to do one thing of special importance before he entered the lists with this monster, and that was to have some intelligence with the Greæ. These Greæ are treasons which may be termed the sisters of war not descended of the same stock, but far unlike in nobility of birth; for wars are generous and heroical, but treasons are base and ignoble. Their description is elegant, for they are said to be gray-headed, and like old women from their birth, by reason that traitors are continually vexed with cares and trepidations. But all their strength, before they break out into open rebellions, consists either in an eye or in a tooth; for every faction alienated from any state, contemplates and bites. Besides, this eye and tooth is as it were common; for whatsoever they can learn and know is delivered and carried from one to another by the hands of faction. And as concerning the tooth, they do all bite alike, and sing the same song; so that

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hear one and you hear all. Perseus therefore was to deal with these Greæ for the love of their eye and tooth; their eye to discover, their tooth to sow rumours and stir up envy, and to molest and trouble the minds of men. These things therefore being thus disposed and prepared, he addresses himself to the action of war, and sets upon Medusa as she slept; for a wise captain will ever assault his enemy when he is unprepared and most secure, and then is there good use of Pallas's glass; for most men, before it come to the push, can acutely pry into and discern their enemies' estate; but the best use of this glass is in the very point of danger, that the manner of it may be so considered that the terrour may not discourage, which is signified by that looking into this glass with the face turned from Medusa.

The monster's head being cut off, there follow two effects. The first was the procreation and raising of Pegasus, by which may be evidently understood Fame, that, flying through the world, proclaims victory. The second is the bearing of Medusa's head in his shield; to which there is no kind of defence for excellency comparable: for the one famous and memorable act prosperously effected and brought to pass, doth restrain the motions and insolencies of enemies, and makes Envy herself silent and amazed.

ENDYMION, OR A FAVOURITE.

It is said that Luna was in love with the shepherd Endymion, and in a strange and unwonted manner bewrayed her affection; for he lying in a cave framed by nature under the mountain Latmus,

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she oftentimes descended from her sphere to enjoy his company as he slept; and after she had kissed him ascended up again. Yet, notwithstanding this, his idleness and sleepy security did not any way impair his estate or fortune; for Luna brought it so to pass, that he alone, of all the rest of the shepherds, had his flock in best plight, and most fruitful.

This fable may have reference to the nature and dispositions of princes; for they being full of doubts and prone to jealousy, do not easily acquaint men of prying and curious eyes, and as it were of vigilant and wakeful dispositions, with the secret humours and manners of their life; but such rather as are of quiet and observant natures, suffering them to do what they list without further scanning, making as if they were ignorant, and perceiving nothing but of a stupid disposition, and possessed with sleep, yielding unto them simple obedience rather than sly compliments; for it pleaseth princes now and then to descend from their thrones or majesty, like Luna from the superior orb, and laying aside their robes of dignity, which always to be cumbered with, would seem a kind of burthen, familiarly to converse with men of this condition, which they think may be done without danger; a quality chiefly noted in Tiberius Cæsar, who, of all others, was a prince most severe; yet such only were gracious in his favour, as being well acquainted with his disposition, did yet constantly dissemble as if they knew nothing. This was the custom also of Lewis the Eleventh, King of France, a cautious and wily prince.

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Neither is it without elegancy that the cause of Endymion is mentioned in the fable, because that it is a thing usual with such as are the favourites of princes, to have certain pleasant retiring places whither to invite them for recreation both of body and mind, and that without hurt or prejudice to their fortunes also. And indeed these kind of favourites are men commonly well to pass; for princes, although peradventure they promote them not ever to places of honour, yet do they advance them sufficiently by their favour and countenance: neither do they affect them thus only to serve their own turn; but are wont to enrich them now and then with great dignities and bounties.

THE SISTER OF THE GIANTS, OR FAME.

It is a poetical relation, that the giants begotten of the earth made war upon Jupiter and the other gods; and by the force of lightning they were resisted and overthrown: whereat the earth being excitated to wrath, in revenge of her children, brought forth Fame, the youngest sister of the giants.

"Illam terra parens ira irritata deorum.
"Extremam (ut prohibent) Cœo Enceladoque sororem.
"Progenuit"——

Provok'd by wrathful gods, the mother earth
Gives Fame, the giants' youngest sister, birth.

The meaning of the fable seems to be thus: By the earth is signified the nature of the vulgar, always swollen and malignant, and still broaching new scandals against superiors, and having gotten

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fit opportunity stirs up rebels and seditious persons, that with impious courage do molest princes, and endeavour to subvert their estates; but being suppressed, the same natural disposition of the people still leaning to the viler sort, being impatient of peace and tranquillity, spread rumours, raise malicious slanders, repining whisperings, infamous libels, and others of that kind, to the detraction of them that are in authority; so as rebellious actions and seditious reports differ nothing in kind and blood, but as it were in sex only, the one sort being masculine and the other feminine.

ACTÆON AND PENTHEUS, OR A CURIOUS MAN.

The curiosity of men in prying into secrets, and coveting with an undiscreet desire to attain the knowledge of things forbidden, is set forth by the ancients in two other examples, the one of Actæon, the other of Pentheus.

Actæon having unawares, and as it were by chance, beheld Diana naked, was turned into a stag, and devoured by his own dogs.

And Pentheus climbing up into a tree with a desire to be a spectator of the hidden sacrifices of Bacchus, was strucken with such a kind of frenzy, as that whatsoever he looked upon, he thought it always double, supposing, among other things, he saw two suns and two Thebes; insomuch, that running towards Thebes, spying another Thebes instantly turned back again, and so kept still

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running forward and backward with perpetual unrest.

" Eumenidum veluti demens vidit agmina Pentheus.
" Et solem geminum, duplices se ostendere Thebas."

Pentheus amazed, doth troops of Furies spy;
And sun and Thebes seem double to his eye.

The first of the fables pertains to the secrets of princes, the second to divine mysteries. For those that are near about princes, and come to the knowledge of more secrets than they would have them, do certainly incur great hatred: and therefore, suspecting that they are shot at, and opportunities watched for their overthrow, do lead their lives like stags, fearful and full of suspicion. And it happens oftentimes that their servants, and those of their household, to insinuate into the princes' favour, do accuse them to their destruction, for against whomsoever the prince's displeasure is known, look how many servants that man hath, and you shall find them for the most part so many traitors unto him, that his end may prove to be like Actæon's.

The other is the misery of Pentheus; for that by the height of knowledge and nature in philosophy, having climbed as it were into a tree, do with rash attempts, unmindful of their frailty, pry into the secrets of divine mysteries, and are justly plagued with perpetual inconstancy, and with wavering and perplexed conceits; for seeing the light of nature is one thing and of grace another; it happens so to them as if they saw two suns. And seeing the actions of life and decrees of the will to depend on

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the understanding, it follows that they doubt, are inconstant no less in will than in opinion; and so in like manner they may be said to see two Thebes: for by Thebes, seeing there was the habitation and refuge of Pentheus, is meant the end of actions. Hence it comes to pass that they know not whither they go, but as distracted and unresolved in the scope of their intentions, are in all things carried about with sudden passions of the mind.

ORPHEUS, OR PHILOSOPHY.

The tale of Orpheus, though common, had never the fortune to be fitly applied in every point. It may seem to represent the image of philosophy: for the person of Orpheus, a man admirable and divine, and so excellently skilled in all kind of harmony, that with his sweet ravishing music he did, as it were, charm and allure all things to follow him, may carry a singular description of philosophy; for the labours of Orpheus do so far exceed the labours of Hercules in dignity and efficacy, as the works of wisdom excel the works of fortitude.

Orpheus, for the love he bare to his wife, snatched, as it were, from him by untimely death, resolved to go down to hell with his harp, to try if he might obtain her of the infernal power. Neither were his hopes frustrated; for having appeased them with the melodious sound of his voice and touch, prevailed at length so far, as that they granted him leave to take her away with him; but on this condition, that she should follow him, and he not to look

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back upon her till he came to the light of the upper world; which he, impatient of, out of love and care, and thinking that he was in a manner past all danger, nevertheless violated, insomuch that the covenant is broken, and she forthwith tumbles back again headlong into hell. Orpheus falling into a deep melancholy, became a contemner of women-kind, and bequeathed himself to a solitary life in the deserts; where, by the same melody of his voice and harp, he first drew all manner of wild beasts unto him, who, forgetful of their savage fierceness, and casting off the precipitate provocations of lust and fury, not caring to satiate their voracity by hunting after prey, as at a theatre, in fawning and reconciled amity one towards another, standing all at the gaze about him, and attentively lend their ears to his music. Neither is this all; for so great was the power and alluring force of this harmony, that he drew the woods, and moved the very stones to come and place themselves in an orderly and decent fashion about him. These things succeeding happily, and with great admiration for a time; at length certain Thracian women, possessed with the spirit of Bacchus, made such a horrid and strange noise with their cornets, that the sound of Orpheus' harp could no more be heard, insomuch as that harmony, which was the bond of that order and society being dissolved, all disorder began again, and the beasts returning to their wonted nature, pursued one another unto death as before; neither did the trees or stones remain any longer in their places; and Orpheus himself was by these

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female Furies torn in pieces, and scattered all over the desert: for whose cruel death the river Helicon sacred to the Muses, in horrible indignation, hid his head underground, and raised it again in another place.

The meaning of this fable seems to be thus: Orpheus' music is of two sorts, the one appeasing the infernal powers, the other attracting beasts and trees. The first may be fitly applied to natural philosophy, the second to moral or civil discipline.

The most noble work of natural philosophy is the restitution and renovation of things corruptible; the other, as a lesser degree of it, the preservation of bodies in their estates, detaining them from dissolution and putrefaction; and if this gift may be in mortals, certainly it can be done by no other means than by the due and exquisite temper of nature, as by the melody and delicate touch of an instrument; but seeing it is of all things most difficult, it is seldom or never attained unto; and in all likelihood for no other reason, more than through curious diligence and untimely impatience; and therefore philosophy hardly able to produce so excellent an effect in a pensive humour, and that without cause, busies herself about human objects, and by persuasion and eloquence insinuating the love of virtue, equity, and concord, in the minds of men, draws multitudes of people to a society, makes them subject to laws, obedient to government, and forgetful of their unbridled affections, whilst they give ear to precepts, and submit themselves to discipline; whence follows the

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building of houses, erecting of towns, planting of fields and orchards with trees, and the like; insomuch, that it would not be amiss to say, that even thereby stones and woods were called together and settled in order. And after serious trial made and frustrated about the restoring of a body mortal, this care of civil affairs follows in his due place; because, by a plain demonstration of the inevitable necessity of death, men's minds are moved to seek eternity by the fame and glory of their merits. It is also wisely said in the fable, that Orpheus was averse from the love of women and marriage, because the delights of wedlock and the love of children do for the most part hinder men from enterprising great and noble designs for the public good, holding posterity a sufficient step to immortality without actions.

Besides even the very works of wisdom, although amongst all human things they do most excel, do nevertheless meet with their periods. For it happens that, after kingdoms and commonwealths have flourished for a time, even tumults, and seditions, and wars arise; in the midst of which hurly-burlies first laws are silent, men return to the pravity of their natures; fields and towns are wasted and depopulated; and then, if their fury continue, learning and philosophy must needs be dismembered, so that a few fragments only in some places will be found like the scattered boards of shipwreck, so as a barbarous age must follow; and the streams of Helicon being hid under the earth, until the vicissitude of things passing, they break out again and appear in some

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other remote nation, though not perhaps in the same climate.

CŒLUM, OR BEGINNINGS.

We have it from the poets by tradition, that Cœlum was the ancientest of the gods, and that his members of generation were cut off by his son Saturn, Saturn had many children, but devoured them as soon as they were born; Jupiter only escaped, who being come to man's estate, thrust Saturn his father into hell, and so usurped the kingdom. Moreover, he pared off his father's genitals with the same faulchion that Saturn dismembered Cœlum, and cast them into the sea, from whence came Venus. Not long after this, Jupiter, being scarce settled and confirmed in this kingdom, was invaded by two memorable wars: the first of the Titans, in the suppressing of which Sol, who alone of all the Titans favouring Jupiter's side, took exceeding great pains. The second was of the giants, whom Jupiter himself destroyed with thunderbolts; and so all wars being ended, he reigned secure.

This fable seems enigmatically to shew from whence all things took their beginning, not much differing from that opinion of philosophers, which Democritus afterwards laboured to maintain, attributing eternity to the first matter and not to the world; in which he comes somewhat near the truth of divine writ, telling us of a huge deformed mass, before the beginning of the six days' work.

The meaning of the fable is this: by Cœlum may

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be understood that vast concavity or vaulted compass that comprehends all matter; and by Saturn may be meant the matter itself, which takes from his parent all power of generating; for the universality or whole bulk of matter always remains the same, neither increasing or diminishing in respect of the quality of its nature; but by the divers agitations and motions of it were first produced imperfect, and ill agreeing compositions of things, making, as it were, certain worlds for proofs or essays, and so in process of time a perfect fabric or structure was framed, which would still retain and keep his form: and therefore the government of the first age was shadowed by the kingdom of Saturn, who for the frequent dissolutions and short continuances of things was aptly feigned to devour his children. The succeeding government was deciphered by the reign of Jupiter, who confined those continual mutations unto Tartarus, a place signifying perturbation. This place seems to be all that middle place between the lower superficies of heaven and the centre of the earth, in which all perturbations, and fragility, and mortality or corruption are frequent. During the former generation of things in the time of Saturn's reign Venus was not born; for so long as in the universality of matter, discord was better and more prevalent than concord, it was necessary that there should be a total dissolution or mutation, and that in the whole fabric; and by this kind of generation were creatures produced before Saturn was deprived of his genitals. When this ceased, that other which

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was wrought by Venus immediately came in, consisting in settled and prevalent concord of things, so that mutation should be only in respect of the parts, the universal fabric remaining whole and inviolate.

Saturn, they say, was deposed and cast down into hell, but not destroyed and utterly extinguished; because there was an opinion that the world should relapse into the old chaos and interregnum again, which Lucretius prayed might not happen in his time:

" Quod procul à nobis flectat fortuna gubernans:
" Et ratio potius quam res persuadeat ipsa."

O, guiding Providence be gracious,
That this dooms-day be far remov'd from us;
And grant, that by us it may be expected,
Rather than on us, in our times effected.

For afterwards the world should subsist by its own quantity and power: yet from the beginning there was no rest; for in the celestial regions there first followed notable mutations, which by the power of the sun, predominating over superior bodies, were so quieted, that the state of the world should be conserved; and afterward, in inferior bodies, by the suppressing and dissipating of inundations, tempests, winds, and general earthquakes, a more peaceful durable agreement and tranquillity of things followed. But of this fable it may convertibly be said, that the fable contains philosophy, and philosophy again the fable: for we know by faith, that all these things are nothing else but the long-since ceasing and failing oracles of sense, seeing that

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both the matter and fabric of the world are most truly referred to a Creator.

PROTEUS, OR MATTER.

The poets say that Proteus was Neptune's herdsman; a grave sire, and so excellent a prophet, that he might well be termed thrice excellent: for he knew not only things to come, but even things past as well as present; so that besides his skill in divination, he was the messenger and interpreter of all antiquities and hidden mysteries. The place of his abode was a huge vast cave, where his custom was every day at noon to count his flock of sea-calves, and then to go to sleep. Moreover, he that desired his advice in any thing, could by no other means obtain it, but by catching him in manacles, and holding him fast therewith; who, nevertheless, to be at liberty, would turn himself into all manner of forms and wonders of nature; sometimes into fire, sometimes into water, sometimes into the shape of beasts, and the like, till at length he were restored to his own form again.

This fable may seem to unfold the secrets of nature and the properties of matter. For under the person of Proteus, the first matter, which, next to God, is the ancientest thing, may be represented; for matter dwells in the concavity of heaven as in a cave.

He is Neptune's bond-man, because the operations and dispensations of matter are chiefly exercised in liquid bodies.

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His flock or herd seems to be nothing but the ordinary species of sensible creatures, plants, and metals, in which matter seems to diffuse and, as it were, spend itself; so that after the forming and perfecting of these kinds, having ended as it were her task, she seems to sleep and take her rest, not attempting the composition of any more species. And this may be the moral of Proteus counting of his flock, and of his sleeping.

Now this is said to be done, not in the morning nor in the evening, but at noon; to wit, at such time as is most fit and convenient for the perfecting and bringing forth of species out of matter duly prepared and predisposed; and in the middle, as it were, between their beginning and declinations, which we know sufficiently, out of the holy history, to be done about the time of the creation; for then by the power of that divine word (producat) matter at the Creator's command did congregate itself, not by ambages or turnings, but instantly, to the production of its work into an act and constitution of species: and thus far have we the narration of Proteus, free and unrestrained, together with his flock complete; for the universality of things, with their ordinary structures and compositions of species, bears the face of matter not limited and constrained, and of the flock also of material beings. Nevertheless, if any expert minister of nature shall encounter matter by main force, vexing and urging her with intent and purpose to reduce her to nothing, she contrariwise, seeing annihilation and absolute destruction cannot be effected

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by the omnipotency of God, being thus caught in the straits of necessity, doth change and turn herself into divers strange forms and shapes of things, so that at length, by fetching a circuit as it were, she comes to a period, and, if the force continue, betakes herself to her former being. The reason of which constraint or binding will be more facile and expedite, if matter be laid on by manacles, that is, by extremities.

Now whereas it is feigned that Proteus was a prophet, well skilled in three differences of times, it hath an excellent agreement with the nature of matter: for it is necessary that he that will know the properties and proceedings of matter, should comprehend in his understanding the sum of all things which have been, which are, or shall be, although no knowledge can extend so far as to singular and individual beings.

MEMNON, OR A YOUTH TOO FORWARD.

The poets say that Memnon was the son of Aurora, who, adorned with beautiful armour, and animated with popular applause, came to the Trojan war: where, in rash boldness, hasting into, and thirsting after glory, he enters into single combat with Achilles, the valiantest of all the Grecians, by whose powerful hand he was there slain. But Jupiter pitying his destruction, sent birds to modulate certain lamentable and doleful notes at the solemnization of his funeral obsequies. Whose statue also, the sun reflecting on it with his morning

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beams, did usually, as is reported, send forth a mournful sound.

This fable may be applied to the unfortunate destinies of hopeful young men, who like the sons of Aurora, puffed up with the glittering shew of vanity and ostentation, attempt actions above their strength, and provoke and press the most valiant heroes to combat with them, so that meeting with their overmatch, are vanquished and destroyed, whose untimely death is oft accompanied with much pity and commiseration. For among all the disasters that can happen to mortals, there is none so lamentable and so powerful to move compassion as the flower of virtue cropped with too sudden a mischance. Neither hath it been often known that men in their green years become so loathsome and odious, as that at their deaths either sorrow is stinted, or commiseration moderated: but that lamentation and mourning do not only flutter about their obsequies like those funeral birds, but this pitiful commiseration doth continue for a long space, and specially by occasions and new motions, and beginning of great matters, as it were by the morning rays of the sun, their passions and desires are renewed.

TITHONUS, OR SATIETY.

It is elegantly feigned that Tithonus was the paramour of Aurora, who, desirous to enjoy his company, petitioned Jupiter that he might never die, but, through womanish oversight, forgetting to insert this clause in her petition, that he might not

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withal grow old and feeble, it followed, that he was only freed from the condition of mortality; but for old age, that came upon him in a marvellous and miserable fashion, agreeable to the state of those who cannot die, yet every day grow weaker and weaker with age. Insomuch that Jupiter, in commiseration of that his misery, did at length metamorphose him into a grass-hopper.

This fable seems to be an ingenious character or description of pleasure, which in the beginning, and as it were in the morning, seems to be pleasant and delightful, that men desire they might enjoy and monopolize it for ever unto themselves, unmindful of that satiety and loathing, which, like old age, will come upon them before they be aware. And so at last, when the use of pleasure leaves men, the desire and affection not yet yielding unto death, it comes to pass that men please themselves only by talking and commemorating those things which brought pleasure unto them in the flower of their age, which may be observed in libidinous persons, and also in men of military professions: the one delighting in beastly talk, the other boasting of their valourous deeds, like grass-hoppers, whose vigour consists only in their voice.

JUNO'S SUITOR, OR BASENESS.

The poets say, that Jupiter, to enjoy his lustful delights, took upon him the shape of sundry creatures, as of a bull, of an eagle, of a swan, and of a golden shower: but being a suitor to Juno he came

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in a form most ignoble and base, an object full of contempt and scorn, resembling indeed a miserable cuckoo, weather-beaten with rain and tempest, numbed, quaking, and half dead with cold.

This fable is wise, and seems to be taken out of the bowels of morality; the sense of it being this, that men boast not too much of themselves, thinking by ostentation of their own worth to insinuate themselves into estimation and favour with men. The success of such intentions being for the most part measured by the nature and disposition of those to whom men sue for grace: who, if of themselves they be endowed with no gifts and ornaments of nature, but are only of haughty and malignant spirits, intimated by the person of Juno, then are suitors to know that it is good policy to omit all kind of appearance that may any way shew their own least praise or worth; and that they much deceive themselves in taking any other course. Neither is it enough to shew deformity in obsequiousness, unless they also appear even abject and base in their very persons.

CUPID, OR AN ATOM.

That which the poets say of Cupid, or Love, cannot properly be attributed to one and the self same person, and yet the difference is such, that, by rejecting the confusion of persons, the similitude may be received.

They say that Love is the ancientest of all the gods, and of all things else except chaos, which they

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hold to be a contemporary with it. Now, as touching chaos, that by the ancients was never dignified with divine honour, or with the title of the god. And as for Love, they absolutely bring him in without a father; only some are of opinion, that he came of an egg that was laid by Nox, and that on chaos he begat the god and all things else. There are four things attributed to him, perpetual infancy, blindness, nakedness, and an archery. There was also another Love, which was the youngest of the gods, and he, they say, was the son of Venus. On this also they bestow the attributes of the elder Love, as in some sort we will apply unto him.

This fable tends and looks to the cradle of nature, Love seeming to be the appetite or desire of the first matter, or, to speak more plain, the natural motion of the atom, which is that ancient and only power that forms and fashions all things out of matter, of which there is no parent, that is to say, no cause, seeing every cause is as a parent to its effect. Of this power or virtue there can be no cause in nature, as for God we always except him, for nothing was before it, and therefore no efficient cause of it. Neither was there any thing better known to nature, and therefore neither genus nor form. Wherefore whatsoever it is, positive it is, and but inexpressible. Moreover, if the manner and proceeding of it were to be conceived, yet could it not be by any cause, seeing that, next unto God, it is the cause of causes, itself only without any cause And perchance there is no likelihood that the

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manner of it may be contained or comprehended within the narrow compass of human search. Not without reason therefore it is feigned to come of an egg which was laid by Nox. Certainly the divine philosopher grants so much. Eccl. iii. 11. "Cuncta "fecit tempestatibus suis pulchra, et mundum tra- "didit disputationibus eorum, ita tamen ut non "inveniat homo opus, quod operatus est Deus, prin- "cipio ad finem." That is, he hath made every thing beautiful in their seasons, also he hath set the world in their meditations, yet man cannot find the work that God hath wrought, from the beginning even to the end. For the principal law of nature, or power of this desire, created, by God, in these parcels of things, for concurring and meeting together, from whose repetitions and multiplications all variety of creatures proceeded and were composed, may dazzle the eyes of men's understandings, and comprehended it can hardly be. The Greek philosophers are observed to be very acute and diligent in searching out the material principles of things: but in the beginnings of motion, wherein consists all the efficacy of operation, they are negligent and weak, and in this that we handle, they seem to be altogether blind and stammering: for the opinion of the Peripateticks concerning the appetite of matter caused by privation, is in a manner nothing else but words, which rather sound than signify any reality. And those that refer it unto God do very well, but then they leap up, they ascend not by degrees: for doubtless there is one chief law subordinate to God, in

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which all natural things concur and meet, the same that in the fore-cited scripture is demonstrated in these words, "Opus, quod operatus est Deus à princi-"pio usque ad finem," the work that God hath wrought from the beginning even to the end. But Democritus which entered more deeply into the consideration of this point, after he had conceived an atom with some small dimension and form, he attributed unto it one only desire, or first motion simply or absolutely, and another comparatively or in respect: for he thought that all things did properly tend to the centre of the world, whereof those bodies which were more material, descend with swifter motion, and those that had less matter did on the contrary tend upward. But this meditation was very shallow, containing less than was expedient: for neither the turning of the celestial bodies in a round, nor shutting and opening of things may seem to be reduced or applied to this beginning. And as for that opinion of Epicurus concerning the casual declination and agitation of the atom, it is but a mere toy, and a plain evidence, that he was ignorant of that point. It is therefore more apparent, than we could wish, that this Cupid, or Love, remains as yet clouded under the shades of night. Now as concerning his attributes: he is elegantly described with perpetual infancy or childhood, because compound bodies they seem greater and more stricken in years; whereas the first seeds of things or atoms, they are little and diminute, and always in their infancy.

He is also well feigned to be naked, because all

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compound bodies to a man rightly judging, seem to be apparelled and cloathed, and nothing to be properly naked but the first particles of things.

Concerning his blindness, the allegory is full of wisdom: for this love, or desire, whatsoever it be, seems to have but little providence, as directing his pace and motion by that which it perceives nearest, not unlike blind men that go by feeling: more admirable then must that chief divine providence be, which, from things empty and destitute of providence, and as it were blind, by a constant and fatal law produceth so excellent an order and beauty of things.

The last thing which is attributed unto Love is archery, by which is meant, that his virtue is such, as that it works upon a distant object: because that whatsoever operates afar off, seems to shoot, as it were, an arrow. Wherefore whosoever holds the being both of atoms and vacuity, must needs infer, that the virtue of the atom reacheth to a distant object; for if it were not so, there could be no motion at all, by reason of the interposition of vacuity, but all things would stand stone still, and remain immoveable.

Now as touching that other Cupid, or Love, he may well be termed the youngest of the gods, because he could have no being, before the constitution of species. And in his description the allegory may be applied and traduced to manners: nevertheless he holds some kind of conformity with the elder; for Venus doth generally stir up a desire of conjunc-

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tion and procreation, and Cupid her son doth apply this desire to some individual nature; so that the general disposition comes from Venus, the more exact sympathy from Cupid: the one derived from causes more near, the other from beginnings more remote and fatal, and as it were from the elder Cupid, of whom every exquisite sympathy doth depend.

DIOMEDES, OR ZEAL.

Diomedes flourishing with great fame and glory in the Trojan wars, and in high favour with Pallas, was by her instigated, being indeed forwarder than he should have been, not to forbear Venus a jot, if he encountered with her in fight; which very boldly he performed, wounding her in the right arm. This presumptuous fact he carried clear for a while, and being honoured and renowned for his many heroic deeds, at last returned into his own country, where finding himself hard bestead with domestic troubles, fled into Italy, betaking himself to the protection of foreigners, where in the beginning he was fortunate, and royally entertained by King Daunus with sumptuous gifts, raising many statues in honour of him throughout his dominions. But upon the very first calamity that happened unto this nation, whereunto he was fled for succour, King Daunus enters into a conceit with himself that he had entertained a wicked guest into his family, and a man odious to the goddess, and an impugner of their divinity, that had dared, with his sword, to assault and wound that

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goddess, who, in their religion, they held it sacrilege so much as to touch. Therefore, that he might expiate his country's guilt, nothing respecting the duties of hospitality, when the bonds of religion tied him with a more reverend regard, suddenly slew Diomedes, commanding withal that his trophies and statues should be abolished and destroyed. Neither was it safe to lament this miserable destiny; but even his companions in arms, whilst they mourned at the funeral of their captain, and filled all the places with plaints and lamentations, were suddenly metamorphosed into birds like unto swans, who when their death approacheth, sing melodious and mournful hymns.

This fable hath a most rare and singular subject: for in any of the poetical records, wherein the heroes are mentioned, we find not that any one of them, besides Diomedes, did ever with his sword offer violence to any of the deities. And indeed, the fable seems in him to represent the nature and fortune of man, who of himself doth propound and make this as the end of all his actions, to worship some divine power, or to follow some sect of religion, though never so vain and superstitious, and with force and arms to defend the same: for although those bloody quarrels for religion were unknown to ancients, the heathen gods not having so much as a touch of that jealousy, which is an attribute of the true God, yet the wisdom of the ancient times seems to be so copious and full, as that, what was not known by experience, was yet comprehended by meditations

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and fictions. They then that endeavour to reform and convince any sect of religion, though vain, corrupt, and infamous, shadowed by the person of Nenus, not by the force of argument and doctrine, and holiness of life, and by the weight of examples and authority, but labour to extirpate and root it out by fire and sword, and tortures, are encouraged, it may be, thereunto by Pallas, that is, by the acrity of prudence, and severity of judgment, by whose vigour and efficacy, they see into the falsity and vanity of these errors. And by this their hatred of pravity, and good zeal to religion, they purchase to themselves great glory, and by the vulgar, to whom nothing moderate can be grateful, are esteemed and honoured as the only supporters of truth and religion, when others seem to be lukewarm and full of fear. Yet this glory and happiness doth seldom endure to the end, seeing every violent prosperity, if it prevent not alteration by an untimely death, grows to be unprosperous at last: for if it happen that by a change of government this banished and depressed sect get strength, and so bear up again, then these zealous men, so fierce in opposition before, are condemned, their very names are hateful, and all their glory ends in obloquy.

In that Diomedes is said to be murdered by his host, it gives us to understand that the difference of religion breeds deceit and treachery, even among nearest acquaintance.

Now in that lamentation and mourning was not tolerated but punished; it puts us in mind, that let

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there be never so nefarious an act done, yet there is some place left for commiseration and pity, that even those that hate offences should yet in humanity commiserate offenders and pity their distress, it being the extremity of evil when mercy is not suffered to have commerce with misery. Yea, even in the cause as well of religion as impiety, many men may be noted and observed to have been compassionate. But on the contrary the complaints and moans of Diomedes' followers, that is, of men of the same sect and opinion, are wont to be shrill and loud, like swans, or the birds of Diomedes. In whom also that part of the allegory is excellent, to signify, that the last words of those that suffer death for religion, like the songs of dying swans, do wonderfully work upon the minds of men, and strike and remain a long time in their senses and memories.

DÆDALUS, OR MECHANIC.

Mechanical wisdom and industry, and in it unlawful science perverted to wrong ends, is shadowed by the ancients under the person of Dædalus, a man ingenious, but execrable. This Dædalus, for murdering his fellow servant that emulated him, being banished, was kindly entertained, during his exile, in many cities and princes' courts: for indeed he was the raiser and builder of many goodly structures, as well in honour of the gods, as the beauty and magnificence of cities, and other public places, but for his works of mischief he is most notorious. It is he that framed the engine which Pasiphaë used

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to satisfy her lust in company with a bull, so that by his wretched industry, and pernicious device, that monster Minotaur, the destruction of so many hopeful youths, took his accursed and infamous beginning; and studying to cover and increase one mischief with another, for the security and preservation of this monster he invented and built a labyrinth, a work for intent and use most nefarious and wicked, for skill and workmanship, famous and excellent. Afterwards, that he might not be noted only for works of mischief, but be sought after as well for remedies, as for instruments of destruction, he was the author of that ingenious device concerning the clue of thread, by which the labyrinth was made passable without any let. This Dædalus was persecuted by Minos with great severity, diligence, and inquiry, but he always found the means to avoid and escape his tyranny. Lastly, he taught his son Icarus to fly, but the novice, in ostentation of this art, soaring too high, fell into the sea and was drowned.

The parable seems to be thus: in the beginning of it may be noted that kind of envy or emulation that lodgeth, and wonderfully sways and domineers amongst excellent artificers, there being no kind of people more reciprocally tormented with bitter and deadly hatred than they.

The banishment also of Dædalus, a punishment inflicted on him against the rules of policy and providence, is worth the noting: for artificers have this prerogative to find entertainment and welcome in all countries, so that exile to an excellent workman

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can hardly be termed a punishment, whereas other conditions and states of life can scarce live out of their own country. The admiration of artificers is propagated and increased in foreign and strange nations, seeing it is a natural and inbred disposition of men to value their own countrymen, in respect of mechanical works, less than strangers.

Concerning the use of mechanical arts, that which follows is plain. The life of man is much beholden to them, seeing many things, conducing to the ornament of religion, to the grace of civil discipline, and to the beautifying of all human kind, are extracted out of their treasuries: and yet notwithstanding, from the same magazine or store-house are produced instruments both of lust and death; for to omit the wiles of bands, we well know how far exquisite poisons, warlike engines, and such like mischiefs, the effects of mechanical inventions, do exceed the Minotaur himself in malignity and savage cruelty.

Moreover that of the labyrinth is an excellent allegory, whereby is shadowed the nature of mechanical sciences, for all such handicraft works as are more ingenious and accurate, may be compared to a labyrinth, in respect of subtilty and divers intricate passages, and in other plain resemblances, which by the eye of judgement can hardly be guided and discerned, but only by the line of experience.

Neither is it impertinently added, that he which invented the intricate nooks of the labyrinth, did also shew the commodity of the clue: for mechanical arts

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are of ambiguous use, serving as well for hurt as for remedy, and they have in a manner power both to loose and bind themselves.

Unlawful trades, and so by consequence, arts themselves, are often persecuted by Minos, that is by laws, which do condemn them, and prohibit men to use them. Nevertheless they are hid and retained every where, finding lurking holes and places of receit, which was well observed by Tacitus of the mathematicians and figure-flingers of his time, in a thing not so much unlike; "Genus hominum quod in "civitate nostra semper et retinebitur et vetabitur." There is a kind of men that will always abide in our city, though always forbidden. And yet notwithstanding unlawful and curious arts of what kind soever, in tract of time, when they cannot perform what they promise, do fall from the good opinion that was held of them, no otherwise than Icarus fell down from the skies, they grow to be contemned and scorned, and so perish by too much ostentation. And to say the truth, they are not so happily restrained by the reins of law, as bewrayed by their own vanity.

ERICTHONIUS, OR IMPOSTURE.

The poets fable that Vulcan solicited Minerva for her virginity, and impatient of denial, with an inflamed desire, offered her violence, but in struggling his seed fell upon the ground, whereof came Erichthonius, whose body, from the middle upward, was of a comely and apt proportion, but his thighs and legs like the tail of an eel, small and deformed. To

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which monstrosity, he being conscious, became the first inventor of the use of chariots, whereby that part of his body which was well proportioned might be seen, and the other which was ugly and uncomely might be hid.

This strange and prodigious fiction may seem to shew that art, which, for the great use it hath of fire, is shadowed by Vulcan, although it labour by much striving with corporeal substances to force nature, and to make her subject to it, she being for her industrious works rightly represented by Minerva, yet seldom or never attains the end it aims at, but with much ado and great pains, wrestling as it were with her, comes short of its purpose, and produceth certain imperfect births, and lame works, fair to the eye, but weak and defective in use, which many impostors, with much subtilty and deceit, set to view, and carry about, as it were in triumph, as may for the most part be noted in chemical productions, and other mechanical subtilties and novelties, especially when, rather prosecuting their intent, than reclining their errors, they rather strive to overcome nature by force; than sue for her embracements by due obsequiousness and observance.

DEUCALION, OR RESTITUTION.

The poets say that the people of the old world being destroyed by a general deluge, Deucalion and Pyrrha were only left alive; who praying with fervent and zealous devotion, that they might know by what means to repair mankind, had answer from an

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oracle that they should obtain what they desired, if taking the bones of their mother they cast them behind their backs; which at first struck them with great amazement and despair, seeing, all things being defaced by the flood, it would be an endless work to find their mother's sepulchre, but at length they understood that by bones, the stones of the earth, seeing the earth was the mother of all things, were signified by the oracle.

This fable seems to reveal a secret of nature, and to correct an error familiar to men's conceits: for through want of knowledge men think that things may take renovation and restoration from their putrefaction and dregs, no otherwise than the phœnix from the ashes, which in no case can be admitted, seeing such kind of materials, when they have fulfilled their periods, are unapt for the beginnings of such things: we must therefore look back to more common principles.

NEMESIS, OR THE VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

Nemesis is said to be a goddess venerable unto all, but to be feared of none but potentates and Fortune's favourites. She is thought to be the daughter of Oceanus and Nox. She is pourtrayed with wings on her shoulders, and on her head a coronet, bearing in her right hand a javelin of ash, and in her left a pitcher with the similitudes of Æthiopians engraven on it; and lastly, she is described sitting on an hart.

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The parable may be thus unfolded. Her name Nemesis doth plainly signify revenge or retribution, her office and administration being, like a tribune of the people, to hinder the constant and perpetual felicity of happy men, and to interpose her word, "veto," I forbid the continuance of it; that is, not only to chastise insolency, but to intermix prosperity, though harmless, and in a mean, with the vicissitudes of adversity, as if it were a custom, that no mortal man should be admitted to the table of the gods but for sport. Truly when I read that chapter, wherein Caius Plinius hath collected his misfortunes and miseries of Augustus Cæsar, whom of all men I thought the most happy, who had also a kind of art to use and enjoy his fortune, and in whose mind might be noted neither pride, nor lightness, nor niceness, nor disorder, nor melancholy, as that he had appointed a time to die of his own accord, I then deemed this goddess to be great and powerful, to whose altar so worthy a sacrifice as this was drawn.

The parents of this goddess were Oceanus and Nox, that is, the vicissitude of things and divine judgement obscure and secret: for the alteration of [illegible] are aptly represented by the sea, in respect [illegible]ntinual ebbing and flowing of it, and hidden [illegible]ce is well set forth by the night: for even [illegible]rnal Nemesis, seeing human judgement [illegible] from divine, was seriously observed by

[illegible]gil Æneid. lib. 2.

[illegible]eus justissimus unus,

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" Qui fuit ex Teucris, et servantissimus æqui.
" Diis aliter visum ——"

That day, by Greekish force, was Ripheus slain,
So just and strict observer of the law,
As Troy, within her walls, did not contain
A better man: Yet God then good it saw.

She is described with wings, because the changes of things are so sudden, as that they are seen, before foreseen: for in the records of all ages, we find it for the most part true, that great potentates, and wise men, have perished by those misfortunes which they most contemned; as may be observed in Marcus Cicero, who being admonished by Decius Brutus of Octavius Cæsar's hypocritical friendship and hollow-heartedness towards him, returns this answer, " Te autem, mi Brute, sicut debeo, amo, quod " istud quicquid est nugarum me scire voluisti." I must ever acknowledge myself, dear Brutus, beholden to thee, in love, for that thou hast been so careful to acquaint me with that which I esteem but as a needless trifle to be doubted.

Nemesis is also adorned with a coronet, to shew the envious and malignant disposition of the vulgar, for when fortune's favourites and great potentates come to ruin, then do the common people rejoice, setting, as it were, a crown upon the head of revenge.

The javelin in her right hand points at those whom she actually strikes and pierceth thorough.

And before those whom she destroys not in their calamity and misfortune, she ever presents that black

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and dismal spectacle in her left hand: for questionless to men sitting as it were upon the pinnacle of prosperity, the thoughts of death, and painfulness of sickness and misfortunes, perfidiousness of friends, treachery of foes, change of estate, and such like, seem as ugly to the eye of their meditations, as those Ethiopians pictured in Nemesis' pitcher. Virgil in describing the battle of Actium speaks thus elegantly of Cleopatra.

" Regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro
" Nec dum etiam geminos à tergo respicit angues."

The queen amidst this hurly-burly stands,
And with her country timbrel calls her bands;
Not spying yet, where crawl'd behind her back,
Two déadly snakes with venom speckled black.

But not long after, which way soever she turned, troops of Ethiopians were still before her eyes.

Lastly, it is wisely added that Nemesis rides upon an hart, because an hart is a most lively creature. And albeit, it may be, that such as are cut off by death in their youth prevent and shun the power of Nemesis; yet doubtless such, whose prosperity and power continue long, are made subject unto her, and lie, as it were, trodden under her feet.

ACHELOUS, OR BATTLE.

It is a fable of antiquity, that when Hercules and Achelous as rivals contended for the marriage of Dejanira, the matter drew them to combat, wherein Achelous took upon him many divers shapes, for so was it in his power to do, and amongst others,

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transforming himself into the likeness of a furious wild bull, assaults Hercules and provokes him to fight. But Hercules, for all this, sticking to his old human form, courageously encounters him, and so the combat goes roundly on. But this was the event, that Hercules tore away one of the bull's horns, wherewith he being mightily daunted and grieved, to ransom his horn again, was contented to give Hercules, in exchange thereof, the Amalthean horn, or cornu-copia.

This fable hath relation unto the expeditions of war, for the preparations thereof on the defensive part, which, expressed in the person of Achelous, are very diverse and uncertain. But the invading party is most commonly of one sort, and that very single, consisting of an army by land, or perhaps of a navy by sea. But for a king that in his own territory, expects an enemy, his occasions are infinite. He fortifies towns, he assembles men out of the countries and villages, he raiseth citadels, he builds and breaks down bridges, he disposeth garrisons, and placeth troops of soldiers on passages of rivers; on ports, on mountains, and ambushes in woods, and is busied with a multitude of other directions, insomuch, that every day he prescribeth new forms and orders; and then at last having accommodated all things complete for defence, he then rightly represents the form and manner of a fierce fighting bull. On the other side, the invader's greatest care is, the fear to be distressed for victuals in an enemy's country; and therefore affects chiefly to hasten on battle: for

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if it should happen, that after a field fight, he prove the victor, and as it were, break the horn of the enemy, then certainly this follows, that his enemy being stricken with terror, and abased in his reputation, presently bewrays his weakness, and seeking to repair his loss, retires himself to some strong hold, abandoning to the conqueror the spoil and sack of his country and cities; which may well be termed a a type of the Amalthean horn.

DIONYSUS, OR PASSIONS.

They say that Semele, Jupiter's sweetheart, having bound her paramour by an irrevocable oath to grant her one request which she would require, desired that he would accompany her in the same form wherein he accompanied Juno: which he granting, as not able to deny, it came to pass that the miserable wench was burnt with lightning. But the infant which she bare in her womb, Jupiter the father took out, and kept it in a gash which he cut in his thigh till the months were complete that it should be born. This burthen made Jupiter somewhat to limp, whereupon the child, because it was heavy and troublesome to its father while it lay in his thigh, was called Dionysus. Being born, it was committed to Proserpina for some years to be nursed, and being grown up, it had such a maiden-face as that a man could hardly judge whether it were a boy or girl. He was dead also, and buried for a time, but afterwards revived: being but a youth, he invented and taught the planting and dressing of

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vines, the making also and use of wine; for which, becoming famous and renowned, he subjugated the world even to the uttermost bounds of India. He rode in a chariot drawn by tigers. There danced about him certain deformed hobgoblins called Cobali, Acratus, and others, yea, even the muses also were some of his followers. He took to wife Ariadne, forsaken and left by Theseus. The tree sacred unto him was the ivy. He was held the inventor and institutor of sacrifices and ceremonies, and full of corruption and cruelty. He had power to strike men with fury or madness; for it is reported, that at the celebration of his orgies, two famous worthies, Pentheus and Orpheus, were torn in pieces by certain frantic women, the one because he got upon a tree to behold their ceremonies in these sacrifices, the other for making melody with his harp; and for his gods, they are in a manner the same with Jupiter's.

There is such excellent morality couched in this fable, as that moral philosophy affords not better; for under the person of Bacchus is described the nature of affection, passion, or perturbation, the mother of which, though never so hurtful, is nothing else but the object of apparent good in the eyes of appetite: and it is always conceived in an unlawful desire, rashly propounded and obtained, before well understood and considered; and when it begins to grow, the mother of it, which is the desire of apparent good by too much fervency, is destroyed and perisheth: nevertheless, whilst yet it is an im-

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perfect embryo, it is nourished and preserved in the human soul, which is as it were a father unto it, and represented by Jupiter; but especially in the inferior part thereof, as in a thigh, where also it causeth so much trouble and vexation, as that good determinations and actions are much hindered and lamed thereby: and when it comes to be confirmed by consent and habit, and breaks out as it were into act, it remains yet a while with Proserpina as with a nurse; that is, it seeks corners and secret places, and as it were, caves under ground, until the reins of shame and fear being laid aside in a pampered audaciousness, it either takes the pretext of some virtue, or becomes altogether impudent and shameless. And it is most true, that every vehement passion is of a doubtful sex, as being masculine in the first motion, but feminine in prosecution.

It is an excellent fiction that of Bacchus's reviving; for passions do sometimes seem to be in a dead sleep, and as it were utterly extinct; but we should not think them to be so indeed; no, though they lay as it were in their grave: for let there be but matter and opportunity offered, and you shall see them quickly to revive again.

The invention of wine is wittily ascribed unto him; every affection being ingenious and skilful in finding out that which brings nourishment unto it; and indeed, of all things known to men, wine is most powerful and efficacious to excite and kindle passions of what kind soever, as being in a manner common nurse to them all.

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Again, his conquering of nations and undertaking infinite expeditions is an elegant device; for desire never rests content with what it hath, but with an infinite and unsatiable appetite still covets and gapes after more.

His chariot also is well said to be drawn by tigers; for as soon as any affection shall, from going afoot, be advanced to ride in a chariot, and shall captivate reason, and lead her in a triumph, it grows cruel, untamed, and fierce against whatsoever withstands or opposeth it.

It is worth the noting also, that those ridiculous hobgoblins are brought in dancing about his chariot; for every passion doth cause, in the eyes, face, and gesture, certain indecent and ill-seeming, apish and deformed motions; so that they who in any kind of passion, as in anger, arrogancy, or love seem glorious and brave in their own eyes, do yet appear to others mis-shapen and ridiculous.

In that the muses are said to be of his company, it shews that there is no affection almost, which is not soothed by some art wherein the indulgence of wits doth derogate from the glory of the muses, who, when they ought to be the mistresses of life, are made the waiting-maids of affections.

Again, when Bacchus is said to have loved Ariadne that was rejected by Theseus; it is an allegory of special observation; for it is most certain, that passions always covet and desire that which experience forsakes; and they all know, who have paid dear for serving and obeying their lusts, that

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whether it be honour, or riches, or delight, or glory, or knowledge, or any thing else which they seek after, yet are they but things cast off, and by divers men in all ages, after experience had, utterly rejected and loathed.

Neither is it without a mystery, that the ivy was sacred to Bacchus; for the application holds first, in that the ivy remains green in winter. Secondly, in that it sticks to, embraceth, and overtoppeth so many divers bodies, as trees, walls, and edifices. Touching the first, every passion doth by resistance and reluctation, and as it were by an antiperistasis, like the ivy of the cold winter, grow fresh and lusty: and as for the other, every predominate affection doth again, like the ivy, embrace and limit all human actions and determinations, adhering and cleaving fast unto them.

Neither is it a wonder, that superstitious rites and ceremonies were attributed unto Bacchus, seeing every giddy-headed humour keeps in a manner revel-rout in false religions; or that the cause of madness should be ascribed unto him, seeing every affection is by nature a short fury, which, if it grow vehement and become habitual, concludes madness.

Concerning the rending and dismembering of Pentheus and Orpheus, the parable is plain, for every prevalent affection is outrageous and severe, and against curious inquiry and wholesome and free admonition.

Lastly, that confusion of Jupiter and Bacchus' persons may be well transferred to a parable,

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seeing noble and famous acts, and remarkable and glorious merits do sometimes proceed from virtue and well ordered reason and magnanimity, and sometimes from a secret affection and hidden passion, which are so dignified with the celebrity of fame and glory, that a man can hardly distinguish between the acts of Bacchus and the gests of Jupiter.

ATALANTA, OR GAIN.

Atalanta, who was reputed to excel in swiftness, would needs challenge Hippomenes at a match in running. The conditions of the prize were these, that if Hippomenes won the race he should espouse Atalanta; if he were outrun that then he should forfeit his life. And in the opinion of all, the victory was thought assured of Atalanta's side, being famous, as she was, for her matchless and inconquerable speed, whereby she had been the bane of many. Hippomenes therefore bethinks him how to deceive her by a trick, and in that regard provides three golden apples or balls, which he purposely carried about him. The race is begun, and Atalanta gets a good start before him. He seeing himself thus cast behind, being mindful of his device, throws one of his golden balls before her, and yet not outright but somewhat of the one side, both to make her linger and also to draw her out of the right course: she out of a womanish desire, being thus enticed with the beauty of the golden apple, leaving her direct race, runs aside and stoops to catch the ball. Hippomenes the while holds on his course, getting there-

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by a great start, and leaves her behind him: but she by her own natural swiftness, recovers her lost time and gets before him again. But Hippomenes still continues his sleight, and both the second and third times cast out his balls, those enticing delays; and so by craft, and not by his activity, wins the race and victory.

This fable seems allegorically to demonstrate a notable conflict between art and nature; for art, signified by Atalanta, in its work, if it be not letted and hindered, is far more swift than nature, more speedy in pace, and sooner attains the end it aims at, which is manifest almost in every effect; as you may see in fruit-trees, whereof those that grow of a kernel are long ere they bear, but such as are grafted on a stock a great deal sooner. You may see it in clay, which in the generation of stones, is long ere it become hard, but in the burning of bricks is very quickly effected. Also in moral passages you may observe, that it is a long time ere, by the benefit of nature, sorrow can be assuaged, and comfort attained; whereas philosophy, which is, as it were, art of living, tarries not the leisure of time, but doth it instantly and out of hand; and yet this prerogative and singular agility of art is hindered by certain golden apples, to the infinite prejudice of human proceedings: for there is not any one art or science which constantly perseveres in a true and lawful course, till it come to the proposed end or mark, but ever and anon makes stops after good beginnings,

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leaves the race, and turns aside to profit and commodity, like Atalanta.

> "Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile tollit."
>
> Who doth her course forsake,
> The rolling gold doth take.

And therefore it is no wonder that art hath not the power to conquer nature; and by pact or law of conquest to kill and destroy her; but on the contrary, it falls out that art becomes subject to nature, and yields the obedience as of a wife to her husband.

PROMETHEUS, OR THE STATE OF MAN.

The ancients deliver that Prometheus made a man of clay, mixed with certain parcels taken from divers animals, who, studying to maintain this his work by art, that he might not be accounted a founder only but a propagator of human kind, stole up to heaven with a bundle of twigs, which he kindled at the chariot of the sun, came down again, and communicated it with men; and yet they say that notwithstanding this excellent work of his, he was requited with ingratitude in a treacherous conspiracy; for they accused both him and his invention to Jupiter, which was not so taken as was meet it should, for the information was pleasing to Jupiter and all the gods: and therefore in a merry mood granted unto men, not only the use of fire but perpetual youth also, a boon most acceptable and desirable. They being as it were overjoyed, did

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foolishly lay this gift of the gods upon the back of an ass, who being wonderfully oppressed with thirst and near a fountain, was told by a serpent which had the custody thereof, that he should not drink unless he would promise to give him the burthen that was on his back. The silly ass accepted the condition, and so the restoration of youth, sold for a draught of water, passed from men to serpents. But Prometheus, full of malice, being reconciled unto men, after they were frustrated of their gift, but in a chafe yet with Jupiter, feared not to use deceit in sacrifice; for having killed two bulls, and in one of their hides wrapt up the flesh and fat of them both, and in the other only the bones, with a great shew of religious devotion gave Jupiter his choice, who detesting his fraud and hypocrisy, but taking an occasion of revenge, chose that which was stopped with bones, and so turning to revenge, when he saw that the insolency of Prometheus would not be repressed but by laying some grievous affliction upon mankind, in the forming of which he so much bragged and boasted, commanded Vulcan to frame a goodly beautiful woman, which being done, every one of the gods bestowed a gift on her; whereupon she was called Pandora. To this woman they gave in her hand a goodly box full of all miseries and calamities, only in the bottom of it they put Hope; with this box she comes first to Prometheus, thinking to catch him, if peradventure he should accept it at her hands, and so open it; which he nevertheless, with good providence and foresight refused: where-

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upon she goes to Epimetheus, who, though brother to Prometheus, yet was of a much differing disposition, and offers this box unto him, who without delay took it, and rashly opened it; but when he saw that all kind of miseries came fluttering about his ears, being wise too late, with great speed and earnest endeavour clapped on the cover, and so with much ado retained Hope sitting alone in the bottom; at last Jupiter laying many and grievous crimes to Prometheus' charge, as that he had stolen fire from heaven, that in contempt of his majesty he sacrificed a bull's hide stuffed with bones, that he scornfully rejected his gift, and besides all this, that he offered violence to Pallas, cast him into chains, and doomed him to perpetual torment; and by Jupiter's command was brought to the mountain Caucasus, and there bound fast to a pillar that he could not stir; there came an eagle also, that every day sat tiring upon his liver and wasted it; but as much as was eaten in the day grew again in the night, that matter for torment to work upon might never decay. But yet they say there was an end of this punishment; for Hercules crossing the ocean in a cup, which the sun gave him, came to Caucasus, and set Prometheus at liberty by shooting the eagle with an arrow. Moreover, in some nations there were instituted in the honour of Prometheus, certain games of lampbearers, in which they that strived for the prize were wont to carry torches lighted, which whoso suffered to go out, yielded the place and victory to those that followed, and so cast back themselves, so that who-

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soever came first to the mark with his torch burning got the prize.

This fable demonstrates and presseth many true and grave speculations, wherein some things have been heretofore well noted, others not so much as touched.

Prometheus doth clearly and elegantly signify Providence: for in the universality of nature, the fabric and constitution of man only was by the ancients picked out and chosen, and attributed unto Providence as a peculiar work. The reason of it seems to be, not only in that the nature of man is capable of a mind and understanding, which is the seat of providence, and therefore it would seem strange and incredible, that the reason and mind should so proceed and flow from dumb and deaf principles, as that it should necessarily be concluded, the soul of man to be endued with providence, not without the example, intention, and stamp of a greater providence. But this also is chiefly propounded, that man is as it were the centre of the world in respect of final causes; so that if man were not in nature, all things would seem to stray and wander without purpose, and like scattered branches, as they say, without inclination to their end; for all things attend on man; and he makes use of, and gathers fruit from all creatures; for the revolutions and periods of stars make both for the distinctions of times and the distribution of the world's light. Meteors also are referred to presages of tempests; and winds are ordained as well for navigation, as for

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turning of mills and other engines; and plants, and animals of what kind soever, are useful either for men's houses and places of shelter, or for raiment, or for food, or medicine, or for ease of labour, or in a word, for delight and solace; so that all things seem to work, not for themselves, but for man.

Neither is it added without consideration that certain particles were taken from divers living creatures, and mixed and tempered with that clayic mass, because it is most true, that of all things comprehended within the compass of the universe, man is a thing most mixed and compounded, insomuch, that he was well termed by the ancients a little world; for although the chemists do, with too much curiosity, take and wrest the elegancy of this word Microcosm to the letter, contending to find in man all minerals, all vegetables, and the rest, or any thing that holds proportion with them; yet this proposition remains sound and whole, that the body of man, of all material beings, is found to be most compounded and most organical, whereby it is endued and furnished with most admirable virtues and faculties: and as for simple bodies, their powers are not many, though certain and violent, as existing without being weakened, diminished, or stinted by mixture; for the multiplicity and excellency of operation have their residence in mixture and composition, and yet, nevertheless, man in his originals seems to be a thing unarmed and naked, and unable to help itself, as needing the aid of many things; therefore Prometheus made haste to find out fire,

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which suppeditates and yields comfort and help in a manner to all human wants and necessities; so that if the soul be the form of forms, and if the hand be the instrument of instruments, fire deserves well to be called the succour of succours, or the help of helps, which infinite ways affords aid and assistance to all labours and mechanical arts, and to the sciences themselves.

The manner of stealing this fire is aptly described, even from the nature of things: it was, they say, by a bundle of twigs held to touch the chariot of the sun; for twigs are used in giving blows or stripes, to signify clearly, that fire is engendered by the violent percussion and mutual collision of bodies, by which their material substances are attenuated and set in motion, and prepared to receive the heat of influence of the heavenly bodies; and so in a clandestine manner, and as it were by stealth, may be said to take and snatch fire from the chariot of the sun.

There follows next a remarkable part of the parable, that men instead of gratulation and thanksgiving were angry, and expostulated the matter with Prometheus, insomuch, that they accused both him and his invention unto Jupiter, which was so acceptable unto him, that he augmented their former commodities with a new bounty. Seems it not strange, that ingratitude towards the author of a benefit, a vice that in a manner contains all other vices, should find such approbation and reward? No, it seems to be otherwise; for the meaning of the

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allegory is this, that men's outcries upon the defects of nature and art, proceed from an excellent disposition of the mind, and turn to their good; whereas the silencing of them is hateful to the gods, and redounds not so much to their profit; for they that infinitely extol human nature, or the knowledge they possess, breaking out into a prodigal admiration of that they have and enjoy, adoring also those sciences they profess, would have them be accounted perfect; they do first of all shew little reverence to the divine nature, by equalizing, in a manner, their own defects with God's perfection. Again; they are wonderful injurious to men, by imagining they have attained the highest step of knowledge, resting themselves contented, seek no further. On the contrary, such as bring nature and art to the bar with accusations and bills of complaint against them, are indeed of more true and moderate judgments; for they are ever in action, seeking always to find out new inventions. Which makes me much to wonder at the foolish and inconsiderate dispositions of some men, who, making themselves bond slaves to the arrogancy of a few, have the philosophy of the Peripatetics, containing only a portion of Grecian wisdom, and that but a small one neither, in so great esteem, that they hold it not only an unprofitable, but a suspicious and almost heinous thing, to lay any imputation of imperfection upon it. I approve rather of Empedocles' opinion, who like a madman, and of Democritus' judgment, who with great moderation complained how that all things were involved in a mist, that we knew nothing,

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that we discerned nothing, that truth was drowned in the depths of obscurity, and that false things were wonderfully joined and intermixed with true, as for the new academy, that exceeded all measure, than of the confident and pronunciative school of Aristotle. Let men therefore be admonished, that by acknowledging the imperfection of nature and art, they are grateful to the gods, and shall thereby obtain new benefits and greater favours at their bountiful hands; and the accusation of Prometheus their author and master, though bitter and vehement, will conduce more to their profit, than to be effuse in the congratulation of his invention; for, in a word, the opinion of having enough, is to be accounted one of the greatest causes of having too little.

Now, as touching the kind of gift which men are said to have received in reward of their accusation, to wit, an ever-fading flower of youth, it is to shew, that the ancients seemed not to despair of attaining the skill, by means and medicines, to put off old age, and to prolong life, but this to be numbered rather among such things, having been once happily attained unto, are now, through men's negligence and carelessness, utterly perished and lost, than among such as have been always denied and never granted; for they signify and shew, that by affording the true use of fire, and by a good and stern accusation and conviction of the errors of art, the divine bounty is not wanting unto men in the obtaining of such gifts; but men are wanting to themselves in laying this gift of the gods upon the back of a silly slow-paced

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ass, which may seem to be experience, a stupid thing, and full of delay; from whose leisurely and snail-like pace proceeds that complaint of life's brevity, and art's length; and to say the truth, I am of this opinion, that those two faculties, dogmatical and empyrical, are not as yet well joined and coupled together, but as new gifts of the gods imposed either upon philosophical abstractions, as upon a flying bird, or upon slow and dull experience, as upon an ass. And yet methinks I would not entertain an ill conceit of this ass, if it meet not for the accidents of travel and thirst: for I am persuaded, that whoso constantly goes on, by the conduct of experience, as by a certain rule and method, and not covets to meet with such experiments by the way, as conduce either to gain or ostentation, to obtain which, he must be fain to lay down and sell this burthen, may prove no unfit porter to bear this new addition of divine munificence.

Now, in that this gift is said to pass from men to serpents, it may seem to be added to the fable for ornament sake, in a manner, unless it were inserted to shame men, that having the use of that celestial fire and of so many arts, are not able to get unto themselves such things as nature itself bestows upon many other creatures.

But that sudden reconciliation of men to Prometheus, after they were frustrated of their hopes, contains a profitable and wise note, shewing the levity and temerity of men in new experiments: for if they have not present success answerable to their expec-

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tation, with too sudden haste desist from that they began, and with precipitancy returning to their former experiments, are reconciled to them again.

The state of man, in respect of arts, and such things as concern the intellect, being now described, the parable passeth to religion: for, after the planting of arts, follows the setting of divine principles, which hypocrisy hath overspread and polluted. By that twofold sacrifice therefore is elegantly shadowed out the persons of a true religious man and an hypocrite. In the one is contained fatness, which, by reason of the inflammation and fumes thereof, is called the portion of God, by which his affection and zeal, tending to God's glory, and ascending towards heaven, is signified. In him also are contained the bowels of charity, and in him is found that good and wholesome flesh; whereas in the other there is nothing but dry and naked bones, which nevertheless do stuff up the hide, and make it appear like a fair and goodly sacrifice: by this may be well meant those external and vain rites, and empty ceremonies, by which men do oppress and fill up the sincere worship of God; things composed rather for ostentation than any way conducing to true piety. Neither do they hold it sufficient to offer such mock-sacrifices unto God; except they also lay them before him, as if he had chosen and bespoke them. Certainly the prophet, in the person of God, doth thus expostulate concerning this choice: Esa. lviii. 5. "Num tandem hoc est illud jejunium, quod ELEGI, "ut homo animam suam in diem unum affligat, et

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"caput instar junceti demittat?" Is it such a fast that I have chosen, that a man should afflict his soul for a day, and to bow down his head like a bulrush?

Having now touched the state of religion, the parable converts itself to the manners and conditions of human life: and it is a common but apt interpretation by Pandora, to be meant pleasure and voluptuousness, which, when the civil life is pampered with too much art, and culture, and superfluity, is engendered, as it were, by the efficacy of fire, and therefore the work of voluptuousness is attributed unto Vulcan, who also himself doth represent fire. From this do infinite miseries, together with too late repentance, proceed and overflow the minds, and bodies, and fortunes of men; and that not only in respect of particular estates, but even over kingdoms and commonwealths: for from this fountain have wars, tumults, and tyrannies derived their original.

But it would be worth the labour to consider how elegantly and proportionably this fable doth delineate two conditions, or, as I may say, two tables or examples of human life, under the persons of Prometheus or Epimetheus: for they that are of Epimetheus' sect are improvident, not foreseeing what may come to pass hereafter, esteeming that best which seems most sweet for the present; whence it happens that they are overtaken with many miseries, difficulties, and calamities, and so lead their lives almost in perpetual affliction; but yet, notwithstanding, they please their fancy, and out of ignorance of the passages of things, do entertain many vain hopes

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in their mind, whereby they sometimes, as with sweet dreams, solace themselves, and sweeten the miseries of their life. But they that are Prometheus' scholars, are men endued with prudence, foreseeing things to come, warily shunning and avoiding many evils and misfortunes. But to these their good properties they have this also annexed, that they deprive themselves and defraud their genius of many lawful pleasures, and divers recreations; and, which is worse, they vex and torment themselves with cares and troubles, and intestine fears; for being chained to the pillar of necessity, they are afflicted with innumerable cogitations, which, because they are very swift, may be fitly compared to an eagle; and those griping, and, as it were gnawing and devouring the liver, unless sometimes as it were by night, it may be they get a little recreation and ease of mind, but so, as that they are again suddenly assaulted with fresh anxieties and fears.

Therefore this benefit happens to but a very few of either condition, that they should retain the commodities of providence, and free themselves from the miseries of care and perturbation; neither indeed can any attain unto it but by the assistance of Hercules, that is, fortitude and constancy of mind, which is prepared for every event, and armed in all fortunes; foreseeing without fear, enjoying without loathing, and suffering without impatience. It is worth the noting also, that this virtue was not natural to Prometheus, but adventitial, and from the indulgence of another: for no in-bred and natural fortitude is able

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to encounter with these miseries. Moreover this virtue was received and brought unto him from the remotest part of the ocean, and from the sun, that is, from wisdom as from the sun; and from the meditation of inconstancy, or of the waters of human life, as from the sailing upon the ocean; which two, Virgil hath well conjoined in these verses:

> " Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas:
> " Quique metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
> " Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari."

> Happy is he that knows the cause of things,
> And that with dauntless courage treads upon
> All fear and fates, relentless threat'nings,
> And greedy throat of roaring Acheron.

Moreover, it is elegantly added for the consolation and confirmation of men's minds, that this noble hero crossed the ocean in a cup or pan, lest, peradventure, they might too much fear that the straits and frailty of their nature will not be capable of this fortitude and constancy. Of which very thing Seneca well conceived, when he said, " Magnum est " habere simul fragilitatem hominis, et securitatem " Dei." It is a great matter for human frailty and divine security to be one and the self-same time, in one and the self-same subject.

But now we are to step back a little again to that, which by premeditation we past over, lest a breach should be made in those things which were so linked together: that therefore which I could touch here is that last crime imputed to Prometheus, about seeking to bereave Minerva of her vir-

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ginity: for, questionless, it was this heinous offence that brought that punishment of devouring his liver upon him; which is nothing else but to shew, that when we are puffed up with too much learning and science, they go about oftentimes to make even divine oracles subject to sense and reason, whence most certainly follows a continual distraction, and restless griping of the mind; we must therefore, with a sober and humble judgment, distinguish between humanity and divinity, and between the oracles of sense and the mysteries of faith, unless an heretical religion and a commentitious philosophy be pleasing unto us.

Lastly, it remains that we say something of the games of Prometheus, performed with burning torches, which again hath reference to arts and sciences, as that fire, in whose memory and celebration these games were instituted; and it contains in it a most wise admonition, that the perfection of sciences is to be expected from succession, not from the nimbleness and promptness of one only author: for they that are nimblest in course, and strongest in contention, yet happily have not the luck to keep fire still in their torch, seeing it may be as well extinguished by running too fast as by going too slow. And this running and contending with lamps seems long since to be intermitted, seeing all sciences seem even now to flourish most in their first authors, Aristotle, Galen, Euclid, and Ptolemy; succession having neither effected, nor almost attempted any great matter: it were therefore to be wished that these

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games, in honour of Prometheus, or human nature, were again restored; and that matters should receive success by combat and emulation, and not hang upon any one man's sparkling and shaking torch. Men therefore are to be admonished to rouse up their spirits, and try their strengths and turns, and not refer all to the opinions and brains of a few.

And thus have I delivered that which I thought good to observe out of this so well known and common fable; and yet I will not deny but that there may be some things in it which have an admirable consent with the mysteries of Christian religion; and especially that sailing of Hercules in a cup to set Prometheus at liberty, seems to represent an image of the divine word, coming in flesh, as in a frail vessel, to redeem man from the slavery of hell. But I have interdicted my pen all liberty in this kind, lest I should use strange fire at the altar of the Lord.

SCYLLA AND ICARUS, OR THE MIDDLE-WAY.

Mediocrity, or the middle-way, is most commended in moral actions; in contemplative sciences not so celebrated, though no less profitable and commodious; but in political employments to be used with great heed and judgment. The ancients by the way prescribed to Icarus, noted the mediocrity of manners; and by the way between Scylla and Charybdis, so famous for difficulty and danger, the mediocrity of intellectual operations.

Icarus being to cross the sea by flight, was com-

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manded by his father that he should fly neither too high nor too low, for his wings being joined with wax, if he should mount too high, it was to be feared lest the wax would melt by the heat of the sun, and if too low, lest misty vapours of the sea would make it less tenacious: but he in a youthful jollity soaring too high, fell down headlong and perished in the water.

The parable is easy and vulgar: for the way of virtue lies in a direct path between excess and defect. Neither is it a wonder that Icarus perished by excess, seeing that excess for the most part is the peculiar fault of youth, as defect is of age; and yet of two evil and hurtful ways youth commonly makes choice of the better, defect being always accounted worst: for whereas excess contains some sparks of magnanimity, and, like a bird, claims kindred of the heavens, defect only like a base worm crawls upon the earth. Excellently therefore said Heraclitus, "Lumen siccum, optima anima;" a dry light is the best soul; for if the soul contract moisture from the earth it becomes degenerate altogether. Again, on the other side, there must be moderation used, that this light be subtilized by this laudable siccity, and not destroyed by too much fervency: and thus much every man for the most part knows.

Now they that would sail between Scylla and Charybdis must be furnished as well with the skill as prosperous success in navigation: for if their ships fall into Scylla they are split on the rocks; if into Charybdis they are swallowed up of a gulf.

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The moral of this parable, which we will but briefly touch, although it contain matter of infinite contemplation, seems to be this, that in every art and science, and so in their rules and axioms, there be a mean observed between the rocks of distinctions and the gulfs of universalities, which two are famous for the wreck both of wits and arts.

SPHYNX, OR SCIENCE.

They say that Sphynx was a monster of divers forms, as having the face and voice of a virgin, the wings of a bird, and the talons of a griffin. His abode was in a mountain near the city of Thebes; he kept also the highways, and used to lie in ambush for travellers, and so to surprise them: to whom, being in his power, he propounded certain dark and intricate riddles, which were thought to have been given and received of the Muses. Now if these miserable captives were not able instantly to resolve and interpret them in the midst of their difficulties and doubts, she would rend and tear them in pieces. The country groaning a long time under this calamity, the Thebans at last propounded the kingdom as a reward unto him that could interpret the riddles of Sphynx, there being no other way to destroy her. Whereupon Œdipus, a man of piercing and deep judgment, but maimed and lame by reason of holes bored in his feet, moved with the hope of so great a reward, accepted the condition, and, determined to put it to the hazard, and so with an undaunted and, bold spirit presented himself before the monster

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who asked him what creature that was, which after his birth went first upon four feet, next upon two, then upon three, and lastly upon four feet again; answered forthwith that it was man, which in his infancy, immediately after birth, crawls upon all four, scarce venturing to creep, and not long after stands upright upon two feet, then growing old he leans upon a staff, wherewith he supports himself; so that he may seem to have three feet, and at last, in decrepid years, his strength failing him, he falls groveling again upon four, and lies bed-rid. Having therefore by this true answer gotten the victory, he instantly slew this Sphynx, and, laying her body upon an ass, leads it as it were in triumph; and so, according to the condition, was created king of the Thebans.

This fable contains in it no less wisdom than elegancy, and it seems to point at science, especially that which is joined with practice, for science may not absurdly be termed a monster, as being by the ignorant and rude multitude always held in admiration. It is diverse in shape and figure, by reason of the infinite variety of subjects, wherein it is conversant. A maiden face and voice is attributed unto it for its gracious countenance and volubility of tongue. Wings are added, because sciences and their inventions do pass and fly from one to another, as it were, in a moment, seeing that the communication of science is as the kindling of one light at another. Elegantly also it is feigned to have sharp and hooked talons, because the axioms and arguments of science do so fasten upon the mind, and so strongly

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apprehend and hold it, as that it stir not or evade, which is noted also by the Divine Philosopher, Eccles. xii. 11. "Verba sapientum," saith he, "sunt "tanquam aculei et veluti clavi in altum defixi," The words of the wise are like goads, and like nails driven far in.

Moreover, all science seems to be placed in steep and high mountains; as being thought to be a lofty and high thing, looking down upon ignorance with a scornful eye. It may be observed and seen also a great way, and far in compass, as things set on the tops of mountains.

Furthermore, science may well be feigned to beset the highways, because which way soever we turn in this progress and pilgrimage of human life, we meet with some matter or occasion offered for contemplation.

Sphynx is said to have received from the muses, divers difficult questions and riddles, and to propound them unto men, which remaining with the muses, are free, it may be, from savage cruelty; for so long as there is no other end of study and meditation, than to know, the understanding is not racked and imprisoned, but enjoys freedom and liberty, and even in doubts and variety, finds a kind of pleasure and delectation; but when once these ænigmas are delivered by the muses to Sphynx, that is, to practice, so that it be solicited and urged by action, and election, and determination; then they begin to be troublesome and raging; and unless they be resolved and expedited, they do wonderfully torment and vex the minds of men, distract-

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ing, and in a manner rending them into sundry parts.

Moreover, there is always a twofold condition propounded with Sphynx's ænigmas: to him that doth not expound them, distraction of mind; and to him that doth, a kingdom; for he that knows that which he sought to know, hath attained the end he aimed at, and every artificer also commands over his work.

Of Sphynx's riddles, they are generally two kinds; some concerning the nature of things, others touching the nature of man. So also there are two kinds of empires, as rewards to those that resolve them. The one over nature, the other over men; for the proper and chief end of true natural philosophy is to command and sway over natural beings; as bodies, medicines, mechanical works, and infinite other things; although the school, being content with such things as are offered, and priding itself with speeches, doth neglect realities and works, treading them as it were under foot. But that ænigma propounded to Œdipus, by means of which he obtained the Theban empire, belonged to the nature of man: for whosoever doth thoroughly consider the nature of man, may be in a manner the contriver of his own fortune, and is born to command, which is well spoken of the Roman arts:

> " Tu regere imperio populos, Romane memento
> " Hæ tibi erunt artes——"
>
> Roman remember, that with sceptre's awe
> Thy realms thou rul'st. These arts let be thy rule.

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It was, therefore, very apposite, that Augustus Cæsar, whether by premeditation, or by a chance, bare a sphynx in his signet: for he, if ever any, was famous not only in political government, but in all the course of his life; he happily discovered many new ænigmas concerning the nature of man, which if he had not done with dexterity and promptness, he had oftentimes fallen into imminent danger and destruction.

Moreover, it is added in the fable, that the body of Sphynx, when she was overcome, was laid upon an ass; which indeed is an elegant fiction, seeing there is nothing so acute and abstruse, but, being well understood and divulged, may be apprehended by a slow capacity.

Neither is it to be omitted, that Sphynx was overcome by a man lame in his feet; for when men are too swift of foot, and too speedy of pace in hasting to Sphynx's ænigmas, it comes to pass, that, she getting the upper hand, their wits and minds are rather distracted by disputations, than that ever they come to command by works and effects.

PROSERPINA, OR SPIRIT.

Pluto, they say, being made king of the infernal dominions, by that memorable division, was in despair of ever attaining any one of the superior goddesses in marriage, especially if he should venture to court them, either with words, or with any amorous behaviour; so that of necessity he was to lay some

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plot to get one of them by rapine: taking, therefore, the benefit of opportunity, he caught up Proserpina, the daughter of Ceres, a beautiful virgin, as she was gathering Narcissus flowers in the meadows of Sicily, and carried her away with him in his coach to the subterranean dominions, where she was welcomed with such respect, as that she was styled the Lady of Dis. But Ceres, her mother, when in no place she should find this her only beloved daughter, in a sorrowful humour and distracted beyond measure, went compassing the whole earth with a burning torch in her hand, to seek and recover this her lost child. But when she saw that all was in vain, supposing peradventure that she was carried to hell, she importuned Jupiter with many tears and lamentations, that she might be restored unto her again; and at length prevailed thus far, that if she had tasted of nothing in hell, she should have leave to bring her from thence. Which condition was as good as a denial to her petition, Proserpina having already eaten three grains of a pomegranate. And yet for all this, Ceres gave not over her suit, but fell to prayers and moans afresh; wherefore it was at last granted that, the year being divided, Proserpina should by alternate courses, remain one six months with her husband, and other six months with her mother. Not long after this, Theseus and Perithous in an over-hardy adventure, attempted to fetch her from Pluto's bed, who, being weary with travel and sitting down upon a stone in hell to rest themselves, had not the power to rise

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again, but sat there for ever. Proserpina therefore remained queen of hell, in whose honour there was this great privilege granted; that, although it were enacted, that none that went down to hell should have the power ever to return from thence; yet was this singular exception annexed to this law, that if any presented Proserpina with a golden bough, it should be lawful for him to go and come at his pleasure. Now there was but one only such a bough in a spacious and shady grove, which was not a plant neither of itself, but budded from a tree of another kind, like a rope of gum which being plucked off, another would instantly spring out.

This fable seems to pertain to nature, and to dive into that rich and plentiful efficacy and variety of subalternal creatures, from whom whatsoever we have is derived, and to them doth again return.

By Proserpina, the ancients meant that ethereal spirit, which being separated from the upper globe, is shut up and detained under the earth, represented by Pluto, which the poet well expressed thus:

> " Sive recens tellus, seductaque nuper ab alto
> " Æthere, cognati retinebat semina cœli."
>
> Whether the youngling Tellus (that of late
> Was from the high-rear'd æther separate)
> Did yet contain her teeming womb within
> The living seeds of heaven, her nearest kin.

This spirit is feigned to be rapted by the earth, because nothing can withhold it, when it hath time and leisure to escape. It is therefore caught and stayed by a sudden contraction, no otherwise than if

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a man should go about to mix air with water, which can be done by no means, but by a speedy and rapid agitation, as may be seen in froth, wherein the air is rapted by the water.

Neither is it inelegantly added that Proserpina was rapt as she was gathering Narcissus flowers in the valleys, because Narcissus hath his name from slowness or stupidity: for, indeed, then is this spirit most prepared and fitted to be snatched by terrestrial matter, when it begins to be coagulated, and become as it were slow.

Rightly is Proserpina honoured more than any of the other god's bed-fellows, in being styled the Lady of Dis, because this spirit doth rule and sway all things in those lower regions, Pluto abiding stupid and ignorant.

This spirit, the power celestial, shadowed by Ceres, strives with infinite sedulity, to recover and get again: for that brand or burning torch of æther, which Ceres carried in her hand, doth doubtless signify the sun, which enlighteneth the whole circuit of the earth, and would be of the greatest moment to recover Proserpina, if possibly it might be.

But Proserpina abides still, the reason of which is accurately and excellently propounded in the conditions between Jupiter and Ceres: for first it is most certain there are two ways to keep spirit in solid and terrestrial matter: the one by constipation and obstruction, which is mere imprisonment and constraint; the other by administration or proportionable nutriment, which it receives willingly

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and of its own accord; for after that the included spirit begins to feed and nourish itself, it makes no haste to be gone, but is, as it were, linked to its earth: and this is pointed at by Proserpina her eating of pomegranate; which, if she had not done, she had long since been recovered by Ceres with her torch, compassing the earth. Now, as concerning that spirit which is in metals and minerals, it is chiefly perchance restrained by the solidity of mass: but that which is in plants and animals, inhabits a porous body, and hath open passage to be gone in a manner as it lists, were it not that it willingly abides of its own accord, by reason of the relish it finds in its entertainment. The second condition concerning the six months' custom, it is no other than an elegant description of the division of the year, seeing this spirit mixed with the earth appears above ground in vegetable bodies during the summer months, and in the winter sinks down again.

Now as concerning Theseus and Perithous, and their attempt to bring Proserpina quite away; the meaning of it is, that it oftentimes comes to pass, that some more subtle spirits descending with divers bodies to the earth, never come to suck of any subaltern spirit, whereby to unite it unto them, and so to bring it away. But, on the contrary, are coagulated themselves, and never rise more, that Proserpina should be by that means augmented with inhabitants and dominion.

All that we can say concerning that sprig of gold

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is hardly able to defend us from the violence of the chemists, if in this regard they set upon us, seeing they promise by that their elixir to effect golden mountains, and the restoring of natural bodies, as it were from the portal of hell. But, concerning chemistry, and those perpetual suitors for that philosophical elixir, we know certainly that their theory is without grounds, and we suspect that their practice also is without certain reward. And therefore, omitting these, of this last part of the parable, this is my opinion, I am induced to believe by many figures of the ancients, that the conservation and restoration of natural bodies, in some sort, was not esteemed by them as a thing impossible to be attained, but as a thing abstruse and full of difficulties, and so they seem to intimate in this place, when they report that this one only sprig was found among infinite other trees in a huge and thick wood, which they feigned to be of gold, because gold is the badge of perpetuity, and to be artificially as it were inserted, because this effect is to be rather hoped for from art, than from any medicine, or simple or natural means.

METIS, OR COUNSEL.

The ancient poets report that Jupiter took Metis to wife, whose name doth plainly signify counsel, and that she by him conceived. Which when he found, not tarrying the time of her deliverance, devours both her and that which she went withal,

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by which means Jupiter himself became with child, and was delivered of a wondrous birth; for out of his head or brain came forth Pallas armed.

The sense of this fable, which at first apprehension may seem monstrous and absurd, contains in it a secret of state, to wit, with what policy kings are wont to carry themselves towards their counsellors, whereby they may not only preserve their authority and majesty free and entire, but also that it may be the more extolled and dignified of the people: for kings being as it were tied and coupled in a nuptial bond to their counsellors, do truly conceive that communicating with them about the affairs of greatest importance, do yet detract nothing from their own majesty. But when any matter comes to be censured or decreed, which is a birth, there do they confine and restrain the liberty of their counsellors; lest that which is done should seem to be hatched by their wisdom and judgement. So as at last kings, except it be in such matters as are distasteful and maligned, which they always will be sure to put off from themselves, do assume the honour and praise of all matters that are ruminated in council, and as it were, formed in the womb, whereby the resolution and execution, which, because it proceeds from power and implies necessity, is elegantly shadowed under the figure of Pallas armed, shall seem to proceed wholly from themselves. Neither sufficeth it, that it is done by the authority of the king, by his mere will and free applause, except

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withal, this be added and appropriated as to issue out of his own head or brain, intimating, that out of his own judgement, wisdom, and ordinance, it was only invented and derived.

THE SYRENS, OR PLEASURES.

The fable of the Syrens seems rightly to have been applied to the pernicious allurements of pleasure, but in a very vulgar and gross manner. And, therefore, to me it appears, that the wisdom of the ancients have, with a farther reach or insight, strained deeper matter out of them, not unlike the grapes ill pressed; from which, though some liquor were drawn, yet the best was left behind. These Syrens are said to be the daughters of Achelous and Terpsichore one of the muses, who in their first being were winged, but after rashly entering into contention with the muses, were by them vanquished and deprived of their wings: of whose plucked out feathers the muses made themselves coronets, so as ever since that time all the muses have attired themselves with plumed heads, except Terpsichore only, that was mother to the Syrens. The habitation of the Syrens was in certain pleasant islands, from whence as soon as out of their watch-tower they discovered any ships approaching, with their sweet tunes they would first entice and stay them, and having them in their power would destroy them. Neither was their song plain and single, but consisting of such variety of melodious tunes, so fitting and delighting the ears that heard them, as that it ra-

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vished and betrayed all passengers: and so great were the mischiefs they did, that these isles of the Syrens, even as far off as man can ken them, appeared all over white with the bones of unburied carcases. For the remedying of this misery a double means was at last found out, the one by Ulysses the other by Orpheus. Ulysses, to make experiment of his device, caused all the ears of his company to be stopped with wax, and made himself to be bound to the main mast, with special commandment to his mariners not to be loosed, albeit himself should require them so to do. But Orpheus neglected and disdained to be so bound, with a shrill and sweet voice singing praises of the gods to his harp, suppressed the songs of the Syrens, aud so freed himself from their danger.

This fable hath relation to men's manners, and contains in it a manifest and most excellent parable: for pleasures do for the most proceed out of the abundance and superfluity of all things, and also out of the delights and jovial contentments of the mind: the which are wont suddenly, as it were, with winged enticements to ravish and rap mortal men. But learning and education brings it so to pass, as that it restrains and bridles man's mind, making it so to consider the ends and events of things, as that it clips the wings of pleasure. And this was greatly to the honour and renown of the muses; for after that, by some examples, it was made manifest that by the power of philosophy vain pleasures might grow contemptible; it presently grew

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to great esteem, as a thing that could raise and elevate the mind aloft, that seemed to be base and fixed to the earth, make the cogitations of the men, which do ever reside in the head, to be ætherial, and as it were winged. But that the mother of the Syrens was left to her feet, and without wings, that no doubt is no otherwise meant than of light and superficial learning, appropriated and defined only to pleasures, as were those which Petronius devoted himself unto after he had received his fatal sentence; and having his foot, as it were, upon the threshold of death, sought to give himself all delightful contentments; insomuch, as when he had caused consolatory letters to be sent him, he would peruse none of them, as Tacitus reports, that should give him courage and constancy, but only read fantastical verses such as these are:

"Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus,
"Rumoresque senum severiorum,
"Omnes unius æstimemus assis."

My Lesbia, let us live and love:
Though wayward dotards us reprove,
Weigh their words light for our behove.

And this also:

"Jura senes norint, et quid sit fasque nefasque,
"Inquirant tristes, legumque examina servent.

Let doting grandsires know the law,
And right and wrong observe with awe:
Let them in that strict circle draw.

This kind of doctrine would easily persuade to

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take these plumed coronets from the muses, and to restore the wings again to the Syrens. These Syrens are said to dwell in remote isles, for that pleasures love privacy and retired places, shunning always too much company of people. The Syrens' songs are so vulgarly understood, together with the deceits and danger of them, as that they need no exposition. But that of the bones appearing like white cliffs, and descried afar off, hath more acuteness in it: for thereby is signified, that albeit the examples of afflictions be manifest and eminent, yet do they not sufficiently deter us from the wicked enticements of pleasures.

As for the remainder of this parable, though it be not over mystical, yet it is very grave and excellent: for in it are set out three remedies for this violent enticing mischief; to wit, two from philosophy, and one from religion. The first means to shun these inordinate pleasures is, to withstand and resist them in their beginnings, and seriously to shun all occasions that are offered to debauch and entice the mind, which is signified in that stopping of the ears; and that remedy is properly used by the meaner and and baser sort of people, as it were, Ulysses' followers or mariners, whereas more heroic and noble spirits may boldly converse even in the midst of these seducing pleasures, if with a resolved constancy they stand upon their guard and fortify their minds, and so take greater contentment in the trial and experience of this their approved virtue; learning rather thoroughly to understand the follies and vanities of

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those pleasures by contemplation than by submission. Which Solomon avouched of himself, when he reckoned up the multitude of those solaces and pleasures wherein he swam, doth conclude with this sentence:

"Sapientia quoque perseverabat mecum."

Wisdom also continued with me.

Therefore these heroes and spirits of this excellent temper, even in the midst of these enticing pleasures, can shew themselves constant and invincible, and are able to support their own virtuous inclination against all heady and forcible persuasions whatsoever; as by the example of Ulysses, that so peremptorily interdicted all pestilent counsels and flatteries of his companions, as the most dangerous and pernicious poisons to captivate the mind. But of all other remedies in this case that of Orpheus is most predominant; for they that chaunt and resound the praises of the gods confound and dissipate the voices and incantations of the Syrens; for divine meditations do not only in power subdue all sensual pleasures, but also far exceed them in sweetness and delight.

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CIVIL HISTORY.

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THE HISTORY
OF THE REIGN OF
KING HENRY THE SEVENTH.
WRITTEN
BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE,
FRANCIS, LORD VERULAM,
VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN.

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To the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Prince Charles, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, Earl of Chester, &c.

IT MAY PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

In part of my acknowledgment to your Highness, I have endeavoured to do honour to the memory of the last King of England that was ancestor to the King your father and yourself; and was that King to whom both unions may in a sort refer, that of the roses being in him consummate and that of the kingdoms by him begun: besides, his times deserve it. For he was a wise man and an excellent King: and yet the times were rough, and full of mutations, and rare accidents. And it is with times as it is with ways; some are more up-hill and down-hill, and some are more flat and plain; and the one is better for the liver, and the other for the writer. I have not flattered him, but took him to life as well as I could, sitting so far off, and having no better light. It is true your Highness hath a living pattern, incomparable, of the King your father: but it is not amiss for you also to see one of these ancient pieces. God preserve your Highness.

Your Highness's most humble

and devoted Servant,

FRANCIS ST. ALBAN.

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THE
HISTORY OF THE REIGN
OF
KING HENRY THE SEVENTH.

After that Richard, the third of that name, king in fact only, but tyrant both in title and regiment, and so commonly termed and reputed in all times since, was, by the divine revenge favouring the design of an exiled man, overthrown and slain at Bosworth-field; there succeeded in the kingdom the Earl of Richmond, thenceforth styled Henry the Seventh. The king, immediately after the victory, as one that had been bred under a devout mother, and was in his nature a great observer of religious forms, caused "Te Deum laudamus" to be solemnly sung in the presence of the whole army upon the place, and was himself with general applause and great cries of joy, in a kind of military election or recognition, saluted king. Meanwhile the body of Richard, after many indignities and reproaches, the "diriges" and obsequies of the common people towards tyrants, was obscurely buried. For though the king of his nobleness gave charge unto the friars of Leicester to see an honourable interment to be given to it, yet the religious people themselves, being not free from the

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humours of the vulgar, neglected it; wherein nevertheless they did not then incur any man's blame or censure: no man thinking any ignominy or contumely unworthy of him that had been the executioner of King Henry the Sixth, that innocent prince, with his own hands; the contriver of the death of the duke of Clarence his brother; the murderer of his two nephews, one of them his lawful king in the present, and the other in the future, failing of him; and vehemently suspected to have been the impoisoner of his wife, thereby to make vacant his bed, for a marriage within the degrees forbidden. And although he were a prince in military virtue approved, jealous of the honour of the English nation, and likewise a good law-maker, for the ease and solace of the common people; yet his cruelties and parricides, in the opinion of all men, weighed down his virtues and merits; and, in the opinion of wise men, even those virtues themselves were conceived to be rather feigned and affected things to serve his ambition, than true qualities ingenerate in his judgement or nature. And therefore it was noted by men of great understanding, who seeing his after-acts, looked back upon his former proceedings, that even in the time of King Edward his brother, he was not without secret trains and mines to turn envy and hatred upon his brother's government; as having an expectation and a kind of divination, that the king, by reason of his many disorders, could not be of long life, but was like to leave his sons of tender years; and then he knew

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well, how easy a step it was, from the place of a protector, and first prince of the blood, to the crown. And that out of this deep root of ambition it sprang, that as well at the treaty of peace that passed between Edward the Fourth and Lewis the Eleventh of France, concluded by interview of both kings at Piqueny, as upon all other occasions, Richard, then duke of Gloucester, stood ever upon the side of honour, raising his own reputation to the disadvantage of the king his brother, and drawing the eyes of all, especially of the nobles and soldiers, upon himself; as if the king, by his voluptuous life and mean marriage, were become effeminate and less sensible of honour and reason of state than was fit for a king. And as for the politic and wholesome laws which were enacted in his time, they were interpreted to be but the brocage of an usurper, thereby to woo and win the hearts of the people, as being conscious to himself, that the true obligations of sovereignty in him failed, and were wanting. But King Henry, in the very entrance of his reign, and the instant of time when the kingdom was cast into his arms, met with a point of great difficulty, and knotty to solve, able to trouble and confound the wisest king in the newness of his estate; and so much the more, because it could not endure a deliberation, but must be at once deliberated and determined. There were fallen to his lot, and concurrent in his person, three several titles to the imperial crown. The first, the title of the lady Elizabeth, with whom, by precedent pact with the party that

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brought him in, he was to marry. The second, the ancient and long disputed title, both by plea and arms, of the house of Lancaster, to which he was inheritor in his own person. The third, the title of the sword or conquest, for that he came in by victory of battle, and that the king in possession was slain in the field. The first of these was fairest, and most like to give contentment to the people, who by two and twenty years reign of King Edward the Fourth had been fully made capable of the clearness of the title of the white rose, or house of York; and by the mild and plausible reign of the same king towards his latter time, were become affectionate to that line. But then it lay plain before his eyes, that if he relied upon that title, he could be but a king at courtesy, and have rather a matrimonial than a regal power; the right remaining in his queen, upon whose decease, either with issue or without issue, he was to give place and be removed. And though he should obtain by parliament to be continued, yet he knew there was a very great difference between a king that holdeth his crown by a civil act of estates, and one that holdeth it originally by the law of nature and descent of blood. Neither wanted there even at that time secret rumours and whisperings, which afterwards gathered strength and turned to great troubles, that the two young sons of King Edward the Fourth, or one of them, which were said to be destroyed in the Tower, were not indeed murdered, but conveyed secretly away, and were yet living: which, if it had been true, had prevented the title of

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the lady Elizabeth. On the other side, if he stood upon his own title of the house of Lancaster, inherent in his person, he knew it was a title condemned by parliament, and generally prejudged in the common opinion of the realm, and that it tended directly to the disinherison of the line of York, held then the indubitate heirs of the crown. So that if he should have no issue by the lady Elizabeth, which should be descendants of the double line, then the ancient flames of discord and intestine wars, upon the competition of both houses, would again return and revive.

As for conquest, notwithstanding Sir William Stanley, after some acclamations of the soldiers in the field, had put a crown of ornament, which Richard wore in the battle, and was found amongst the spoils, upon King Henry's head, as if there were his chief title; yet he remembered well upon what conditions and agreements he was brought in; and that to claim as conqueror, was to put as well his own party, as the rest, into terror and fear; as that which gave him power of disannulling of laws, and disposing of men's fortunes and estates, and the like points of absolute power, being in themselves so harsh and odious, as that William himself, commonly called the Conqueror, howsoever he used and exercised the power of a conqueror to reward his Normans, yet he forbore to use that claim in the beginning, but mixed it with a titulary pretence, grounded upon the will and designation of Edward the Confessor. But the king, out of the greatness

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of his own mind, presently cast the die; and the inconveniences appearing unto him on all parts, and knowing there could not be any interreign, or suspension of title, and preferring his affection to his own line and blood, and liking that title best which made him independent; and being in his nature and constitution of mind not very apprehensive or forecasting of future events afar off, but an entertainer of fortune by the day; resolved to rest upon the title of Lancaster as the main, and to use the other two, that of marriage, and that of battle, but as supporters, the one to appease secret discontents, and the other to beat down open murmur and dispute: not forgetting that the same title of Lancaster had formerly maintained a possession of three descents in the crown; and might have proved a perpetuity, had it not ended in the weakness and inability of the last prince. Whereupon the king presently that very day, being the two and twentieth of August, assumed the style of king in his own name, without mention of the lady Elizabeth at all, or any relation thereunto. In which course he ever after persisted: which did spin him a thread of many seditions and troubles. The king, full of these thoughts, before his departure from Leicester, dispatched Sir Robert Willoughby to the castle of Sheriff Hutton, in Yorkshire, where were kept in safe custody, by King Richard's commandment, both the lady Elizabeth, daughter of King Edward, and Edward Plantagenet, son and heir to George, duke of Clarence. This Edward was by the king's war-

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rant delivered from the constable of the castle to the hand of Sir Robert Willoughby: and by him with all safety and diligence conveyed to the Tower of London, where he was shut up close prisoner. Which act of the king's, being an act merely of policy and power, proceeded not so much from any apprehension he had of doctor Shaw's tale at Paul's cross for the bastarding of Edward the Fourth's issues, in which case this young gentleman was to succeed, for that fable was ever exploded, but upon a settled disposition to depress all eminent persons of the line of York. Wherein still the king out of strength of will, or weakness of judgement, did use to shew a little more of the party than of the king.

For the lady Elizabeth, she received also a direction to repair with all convenient speed to London, and there to remain with the queen dowager her mother; which accordingly she soon after did, accompanied with many noblemen and ladies of honour. In the mean season the king set forwards by easy journeys to the city of London, receiving the acclamations and applauses of the people as he went, which indeed were true and unfeigned, as might well appear in the very demonstrations and fulness of the cry. For they thought generally, that he was a prince, as ordained and sent down from heaven, to unite and put to an end the long dissensions of the two houses; which although they had had, in the times of Henry the Fourth, Henry the Fifth, and a part of Henry the Sixth, on the one side, and the times of Edward the Fourth on the other, lucid in-

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tervals and happy pauses; yet they did ever hang over the kingdom, ready to break forth into new perturbations and calamities. And as his victory gave him the knee, so his purpose of marriage with the lady Elizabeth gave him the heart; so that both knee and heart did truly bow before him.

He on the other side with great wisdom, not ignorant of the affections and fears of the people, to disperse the conceit and terror of a conquest, had given order, that there should be nothing in his journey like unto a warlike march or manner; but rather like unto the progress of a king in full peace and assurance.

He entered the city upon a Saturday, as he had also obtained the victory upon a Saturday; which day of the week, first upon an observation, and after upon memory and fancy, he accounted and chose as a day prosperous unto him.

The mayor and companies of the city received him at Shoreditch; whence with great and honourable attendance, and troops of noblemen, and persons of quality, he entered the city; himself not being on horseback, or in any open chair or throne, but in a close chariot, as one that having been sometimes an enemy to the whole state, and a proscribed person, chose rather to keep state, and strike a reverence into the people, than to fawn upon them.

He went first into St. Paul's church, where, not meaning that the people should forget too soon that he came in by battle, he made offertory of his standards, and had orisons and "Te Deum" again sung;

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and went to his lodging prepared in the bishop of London's palace, where he stayed for a time.

During his abode there, he assembled his council and other principal persons, in presence of whom he did renew again his promise to marry with the lady Elizabeth, This he did the rather, because having at his coming out of Britain given artificially, for serving of his own turn, some hopes in case he obtained the kingdom, to marry Anne, inheritress to the duchy of Britain, whom Charles the Eighth of France soon after married, it bred some doubt and suspicion amongst divers that he was not sincere, or at least not fixed in going on with the match of England so much desired: which conceit also, though it were but talk and discourse, did much afflict the poor lady Elizabeth herself. But howsoever he both truly intended it, and desired also it should be so believed, the better to extinguish envy and contradiction to his other purposes, yet was he resolved in himself not to proceed to the consummation thereof, till his coronation and a parliament were past. The one, lest a joint coronation of himself and his queen might give any countenance of participation of title; the other, lest in the entailing of the crown to himself, which he hoped to obtain by parliament, the votes of the parliament might any ways reflect upon her.

About this time in autumn, towards the end of September, there began and reigned in the city, and other parts of the kingdom, a disease then new: which by the accidents and manner thereof they

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called the sweating sickness. This disease had a swift course, both in the sick body, and in the time and period of the lasting thereof; for they that were taken with it, upon four and twenty hours escaping, were thought almost assured. And as to the time of the malice and reign of the disease ere it ceased; it began about the one and twentieth of September, and cleared up before the end of October, insomuch as it was no hinderance to the king's coronation, which was the last of October; nor, which was more, to the holding of the parliament, which began but seven days after. It was a pestilent fever, but, as it seemeth, not seated in the veins or humours, for that there followed no carbuncle, no purple or livid spots, or the like, the mass of the body being not tainted; only a malign vapour flew to the heart, and seized the vital spirits; which stirred nature to strive to send it forth by an extreme sweat. And it appeared by experience, that this disease was rather a surprise of nature than obstinate to remedies, if it were in time looked unto.* For if the patient were kept in an equal temper, both for clothes, fire, and drink, moderately warm, with temperate cordials, whereby nature's work was neither irritated by heat, nor turned back by cold, he commonly recovered. But infinite persons died suddenly of it, before the manner of the cure and attendance was known. It was conceived not to be an epidemic disease, but to proceed from a malignity in the constitution of the

* See Note A at the end of this volume.

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air, gathered by the predispositions of seasons; and the speedy cessation declared as much.

On Simon and Jude's even the king dined with Thomas Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury and cardinal: and from Lambeth went by land over the bridge to the Tower, where the morrow after he made twelve knights bannerets. But for creations he dispensed them with a sparing hand. For notwithstanding a field so lately fought, and a coronation so near at hand, he only created three: Jasper, earl of Pembroke, the king's uncle, was created Duke of Bedford; Thomas, the Lord Stanley, the king's father-in-law, Earl of Derby; and Edward Courtney, Earl of Devon; though the king had then nevertheless a purpose in himself to make more in time of parliament; bearing a wise and decent respect to distribute his creations, some to honour his coronation, and some his parliament.

The coronation followed two days after, upon the thirtieth day of October, in the year of our Lord 1485; at which time Innocent the Eighth was Pope of Rome; Frederick the Third, Emperor of Almain; and Maximilian his son newly chosen King of the Romans; Charles the Eighth, King of France; Ferdinando and Isabella, Kings of Spain; and James the Third, King of Scotland: with all which kings and states the king was at that time in good peace and amity. At which day also, as if the crown upon his head had put perils into his thoughts, he did institute, for the better security of his person, a band of fifty archers, under a captain, to attend him, by the name of yeomen of his guard: and yet that it might

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be thought to be rather a matter of dignity, after the imitation of that he had known abroad, than any matter of diffidence appropriate to his own case, he made it to be understood for an ordinance not temporary, but to hold in succession for ever after.

The seventh of November the king held his parliament at Westminster, which he had summoned immediately after his coming to London. His ends in calling a parliament, and that so speedily, were chiefly three: first to procure the crown to be entailed upon himself. Next, to have the attainders of all of his party, which were in no small number, reversed, and all acts of hostility by them done in his quarrel remitted and discharged; and on the other side, to attaint by parliament the heads and principals of his enemies. The third, to calm and quiet the fears of the rest of that party by a general pardon; not being ignorant in how great danger a king stands from his subjects, when most of his subjects are conscious in themselves that they stand in his danger. Unto these three special motives of a parliament was added, that he, as a prudent and moderate prince, made this judgement, that it was fit for him to hasten to let his people see, that he meant to govern by law, howsoever he came in by the sword; and fit also to reclaim them to know him for their king, whom they had so lately talked of as an enemy or banished man. For that which concerned the entailing of the crown, more than that he was true to his own will, that he would not endure any mention of the lady Elizabeth, no not in the nature of special entail, he carried it otherwise with great wisdom and

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measure: for he did not press to have the act penned by way of declaration or recognition of right; as, on the other side, he avoided to have it by new law or ordinance, but chose rather a kind of middle way, by way of establishment, and that under covert and indifferent words: "that the inheritance of the crown "should rest, remain, and abide in the king," &c. which words might equally be applied, that the crown shoall continue to him; but whether as having former right to it, which was doubtful, or having it then in fact and possession, which no man denied, was left fair to interpretation either way. And again, for the limitation of the entail, he did not press it to go farther than to himself and to the heirs of his body, not speaking of his right heirs, but leaving that to the law to decide; so as the entail might seem rather a personal favour to him and his children, than a total disinherison to the house of York; and in this form was the law drawn and passed. Which statute he procured to be confirmed by the pope's bull the year following, with mention nevertheless, by way of recital, of his other titles, both of descent and conquest: so as now the wreath of three was made a wreath of five; for to the three first titles of the two houses, or lines, and conquest, were added two more, the authorities parliamentary and papal.

The king likewise, in the reversal of the attainders of his partakers, and discharging them of all offences incident to his service and succour, had his will; and acts did pass accordingly. In the passage

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whereof, exception was taken to divers persons in the house of commons, for that they were attainted, and thereby not legal nor habilitate to serve in parliament, being disabled in the highest degree, and that it should be a great incongruity to have them to make laws who themselves were not inlawed. The truth was, that divers of those which had in the time of King Richard been strongest, and most declared for the king's party, were returned knights and burgesses for the parliament, whether by care or recommendation from the state, or the voluntary inclination of the people; many of which had been by Richard the Third attainted by outlawries or otherwise. The king was somewhat troubled with this; for though it had a grave and specious shew, yet it reflected upon his party. But wisely not shewing himself at all moved therewith, he would not understand it but as a case in law, and wished the judges to be advised thereupon; who for that purpose were forthwith assembled in the Exchequer chamber, which is the council chamber of the judges, and upon deliberation they gave a grave and safe opinion and advice, mixed with law and convenience; which was, that the knights and burgesses attainted by the course of law should forbear to come into the house till a law were passed for the reversal of their attainders.

It was at that time incidently moved amongst the judges in their consultation, what should be done for the king himself, who likewise was attainted? But it was with unanimous consent resolved, "That

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"the crown takes away all defects and stops in "blood: and that from the time the king did assume "the crown the fountain was cleared, and all at- "tainders and corruption of blood discharged." But nevertheless, for honour's sake, it was ordained by parliament, that all records, wherein there was any memory or mention of the king's attainder, should be defaced, cancelled, and taken off the file.

But on the part of the king's enemies there were by parliament attainted, the late Duke of Gloucester, calling himself Richard the Third; the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surrey, Viscount Lovel, the Lord Ferrers, the Lord Zouch, Richard Ratcliffe, William Catesby, and many others of degree and quality. In which bills of attainders, nevertheless, there were contained many just and temperate clauses, savings, and provisoes, well shewing and fore-tokening the wisdom, stay, and moderation of the king's spirit of government. And for the pardon of the rest that had stood against the king, the king, upon a second advice, thought it not fit it should pass by parliament, the better, being matter of grace, to impropriate the thanks to himself, using only the opportunity of a parliament time, the better to disperse it into the veins of the kingdom. Therefore during the parliament he published his royal proclamation, offering pardon and grace of restitution to all such as had taken arms, or been participant of any attempts against him, so as they submitted themselves to his mercy by a day, and took the oath of allegiance and fidelity to him. Whereupon many came out of

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sanctuary, and many more came out of fear, no less guilty than those that had taken sanctuary.

As for money or treasure, the king thought it not seasonable or fit to demand any of his subjects at this parliament; both because he had received satisfaction from them in matters of so great importance, and because he could not remunerate them with any general pardon, being prevented therein by the coronation-pardon passed immediately before: but chiefly, for that it was in every man's eye, what great forfeitures and confiscations he had at that present to help himself, whereby those casualties of the crown might in reason spare the purses of the subject, especially in a time when he was in peace with all his neighbours. Some few laws passed at that parliament almost for form's sake; amongst which there was one to reduce aliens being made denizens, to pay strangers customs; and another to draw to himself the seizures and compositions of Italians' goods, for not employment, being points of profit to his coffers, whereof from the very beginning he was not forgetful; and had been more happy at the latter end, if his early providence, which kept him from all necessity of exacting upon his people, could likewise have attempered his nature therein. He added, during parliament, to his former creations, the ennoblement or advancement in nobility of a few others; the Lord Chandos of Britain, was made Earl of Bath; Sir Giles Daubeney, was made Lord Daubeney; and Sir Robert Willoughby, Lord Brook.

The king did also with great nobleness and

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bounty, which virtues at that time had their turns in his nature, restore Edward Stafford, eldest son to Henry, duke of Buckingham, attainted in the time of King Richard, not only to his dignities, but to his fortunes and possessions, which were great: to which he was moved also by a kind of gratitude, for that the duke was the man that moved the first stone against the tyranny of King Richard, and indeed made the king a bridge to the crown upon his own ruins. Thus the parliament brake up.

The parliament being dissolved, the king sent forthwith money to redeem the marquis Dorset and sir John Bourchier, whom he had left as his pledges at Paris for money which he had borrowed when he made his expedition for England. And thereupon he took a fit occasion to send the lord Treasurer and master Bray, whom he used as counsellor, to the lord mayor of London, requiring of the city a prest of six thousand marks; but after many parleys he could obtain but two thousand pounds; which nevertheless the king took in good part, as men use to do that practise to borrow money when they have no need. About this time, the king called unto his privy council John Morton and Richard Fox, the one bishop of Ely, the other bishop of Exeter; vigilant men and secret, and such as kept watch with him almost upon all men else. They had been both versed in his affairs before he came to the crown, and were partakers of his adverse fortune. This Morton soon after, upon the death of Bourchier, he made archbishop of Canterbury. And for Fox, he made him

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lord keeper of his privy seal, and afterwards advanced him by degrees, from Exeter to Bath and Wells, thence to Durham, and last to Winchester. For although the king loved to employ and advance bishops, because, having rich bishopricks, they carried their reward upon themselves; yet he did use to raise them by steps, that he might not lose the profit of the first fruits, which by that course of gradation was multiplied.

At last, upon the eighteenth of January, was solemnized the so long expected and so much desired marriage between the king and lady Elizabeth; which day of marriage was celebrated with greater triumph and demonstrations, especially on the people's part, of joy and gladness, than the days either of his entry or coronation, which the king rather noted than liked. And it is true, that all his life-time, while the lady Elizabeth lived with him, for she died before him, he shewed himself no very indulgent husband towards her, though she was beautiful, gentle, and fruitful. But his aversion towards the house of York was so predominant in him, as it found place not only in his wars and councils, but in his chamber and bed.

Towards the middle of the spring, the king, full of confidence and assurance, as a prince that had been victorious in battle, and had prevailed with his parliament in all that he desired, and had the ring of acclamations fresh in his ears, thought the rest of his reign should be but play, and the enjoying of a kingdom: yet, as a wise and watchful king, he

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would not neglect any thing for his safety, thinking nevertheless to perform all things now rather as an exercise than as a labour. So he being truly informed that the northern parts were not only affectionate to the house of York, but particularly had been devoted to King Richard the Third, thought it would be a summer well spent to visit those parts, and by his presence and application of himself to reclaim and rectify those humours. But the king, in his account of peace and calms, did much overcast his fortunes, which proved for many years together full of broken seas, tides, and tempests. For he was no sooner come to Lincoln, where he kept his Easter, but he received news that the Lord Lovel, Humphrey Stafford, and Thomas Stafford, who had formerly taken sanctuary at Colchester, were departed out of sanctuary, but to what place no man could tell: which advertisement the king despised, and continued his journey to York. At York there came fresh and more certain advertisement, that the Lord Lovel was at hand with a great power of men, and that the Staffords were in arms in Worcestershire, and had made their approaches to the city of Worcester to assail it. The king, as a prince of great and profound judgement, was not much moved with it; for that he thought it was but a rag or remnant of Bosworth-field, and had nothing in it of the main party of the house of York. But he was more doubtful of the raising of forces to resist the rebels, than of the resistance itself; for that he was in a core of people whose affections he suspected. But

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the action enduring no delay, he did speedily levy and send against the Lord Lovel to the number of three thousand men, ill armed, but well assured, being taken some few out of his own train, and the rest out of the tenants and followers of such as were safe to be trusted, under the conduct of the Duke of Bedford. And as his manner was to send his pardons rather before the sword than after, he gave commission to the duke to proclaim pardon to all that would come in; which the duke, upon his approach to the Lord Lovel's camp, did perform. And it fell out as the king expected; the heralds were the great ordnance. For the Lord Lovel, upon proclamation of pardon, mistrusting his men, fled into Lancashire, and lurking for a time with Sir Thomas Broughton, after sailed over into Flanders to the Lady Margaret; and his men, forsaken of their captain, did presently submit themselves to the duke. The Staffords likewise, and their forces, hearing what had happened to the Lord Lovel, in whose success their chief trust was, despaired and dispersed. The two brothers taking sanctuary at Colnham, a village near Abingdon; which place, upon view of their privilege in the king's bench, being judged no sufficient sanctuary for traitors, Humphrey was executed at Tyburn, and Thomas, as being led by his elder brother, was pardoned. So this rebellion proved but a blast, and the king having by this journey purged a little the dregs and leaven of the northern people that were before in no good affection towards him, returned to London.

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In September following the queen was delivered of her first son, whom the king, in honour of the British race, of which himself was, named Arthur, according to the name of that ancient worthy king of the Britains, in whose acts there is truth enough to make him famous, besides that which is fabulous. The child was strong and able, though he was born in the eighth month, which the physicians do prejudge.*

There followed this year, being the second of the king's reign, a strange accident of state, whereof the relations which we have are so naked, as they leave it scarce credible; not for the nature of it, for it hath fallen out often, but for the manner and circumstance of it, especially in the beginnings. Therefore we shall make our judgement upon the things themselves, as they give light one to another, and as we can dig truth out of the mine. The king was green in his estate; and, contrary to his own opinion and desert both, was not without much hatred throughout the realm. The root of all was the discountenancing of the house of York, which the general body of the realm still affected. This did alienate the hearts of the subjects from him daily more and more, especially when they saw, that after his marriage, and after a son born, the king did nevertheless not so much as proceed to the coronation of the queen, not vouchsafing her the honour of a matrimonial crown; for the coronation of her was not till almost two years after, when danger had taught him what to do. But much more when it was spread

* See Note B at the end.

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abroad, whether by error, or the cunning of malcontents, that the king had a purpose to put to death Edward Plantagenet closely in the Tower: whose case was so nearly paralleled with that of Edward the Fourth's children, in respect of the blood, like age, and the very place of the Tower, as it did refresh and reflect upon the king a most odious resemblance, as if he would be another King Richard. And all this time it was still whispered every where, that at least one of the children of Edward the Fourth was living: which bruit was cunningly fomented by such as desired innovation. Neither was the king's nature and customs greatly fit to disperse these mists, but contrariwise, he had a fashion rather to create doubts than assurance. Thus was fuel prepared for the spark: the spark, that afterwards kindled such a fire and combustion, was at the first contemptible.

There was a subtile priest called Richard Simon,* that lived in Oxford, and had to his pupil a baker's son, named Lambert Simnell, of the age of some fifteen years, a comely youth, and well favoured, not without some extraordinary dignity and grace of aspect. It came into this priest's fancy, hearing what men talked, and in hope to raise himself to some great bishoprick, to cause this lad to counterfeit and personate the second son of Edward the

* The priest's name was William Simonds, and the youth was the son of ——— an organ-maker in Oxford, as the priest declared before the whole convocation of the clergy at Lambeth, Feb. 17, 1486.—Vide Reg. Morton f. 34. MS. Sandcroft.—Note from a former but not the original edition.

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Fourth, supposed to be murdered; and afterward, for he changed his intention in the manage, the Lord Edward Plantagenet, then prisoner in the Tower, and accordingly to frame him and instruct him in the part he was to play. This is that which, as was touched before, seemeth scarcely credible; not that a false person should be assumed to gain a kingdom, for it hath been seen in ancient and late times; nor that it should come into the mind of such an abject fellow to enterprise so great a matter; for high conceits do sometimes come streaming into the minds and imaginations of base persons, especially when they are drunk with news and talk of the people. But here is that which hath no appearance: that this priest, being utterly unacquainted with the true person, according to whose pattern he should shape his counterfeit, should think it possible for him to instruct his player, either in gesture and fashions, or in recounting past matters of his life and education; or in fit answers to questions, or the like, any ways to come near the resemblance of him whom he was to represent. For this lad was not to personate one that had been long before taken out of his cradle, or conveyed away in his infancy, known to few; but a youth, that till the age almost of ten years had been brought up in a court where infinite eyes had been upon him. For King Edward, touched with remorse of his brother the Duke of Clarence's death, would not indeed restore his son, of whom we speak, to be Duke of Clarence, but yet created him Earl of Warwick reviving his honour on the mother's side;

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and used him honourably during his time, though Richard the Third afterwards confined him. So that it cannot be, but that some great person that knew particularly and familiarly Edward Plantagenet, had a hand in the business, from whom the priest might take his aim. That which is most probable, out of the precedent and subsequent acts is, that it was the queen dowager from whom this action had the principal source and motion. For certain it is, she was a busy negotiating woman, and in her withdrawing-chamber had the fortunate conspiracy for the king against King Richard the Third been hatched; which the king knew, and remembered perhaps but too well; and was at this time extremely discontent with the king, thinking her daughter, as the king handled the matter, not advanced but depressed: and none could hold the book so well to prompt and instruct this stage-play as she could. Nevertheless it was not her meaning, nor no more was it the meaning of any of the better and sager sort that favoured this enterprise, and knew the secret, that this disguised idol should possess the crown; but at his peril to make way to the overthrow of the king; and that done they had their several hopes and ways. That which doth chiefly fortify this conjecture is, that as soon as the matter brake forth in any strength, it was one of the king's first acts to cloister the queen dowager in the nunnery of Bermondsey, and to take away all her lands and estate; and this by a close council, without any legal proceeding, upon far fetched pretences that she had delivered her two

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daughters out of sanctuary to King Richard, contrary to promise. Which proceeding being even at that time taxed for rigorous and undue, both in matter and manner, makes it very probable there was some greater matter against her, which the king, upon reason of policy, and to avoid envy, would not publish. It is likewise no small argument that there was some secret in it, and some suppressing of examinations, for that the priest Simon himself, after he was taken, was never brought to execution; no not so much as to public trial, as many clergymen were upon less treasons, but was only shut up close in a dungeon. Add to this, that after the earl of Lincoln, a principal person of the house of York, was slain in Stoke-field, the king opened himself to some of his council, that he was sorry for the earl's death, because by him, he said, he might have known the bottom of his danger.

But to return to the narration itself: Simon did first instruct his scholar for the part of Richard, duke of York, second son to King Edward the Fourth; and this was at such time as it was voiced, that the king purposed to put to death Edward Plantagenet, prisoner in the Tower, whereat there was great murmur. But hearing soon after a general bruit that Plantagenet had escaped out of the Tower, and thereby finding him so much beloved amongst the people, and such rejoicing at his escape, the cunning priest changed his copy, and chose now Plantagenet to be the subject his pupil should personate, because he was more in the present speech

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and votes of the people; and it pieced better, and followed more close and handsomely, upon the bruit of Plantagenet's escape. But yet doubting that there would be too near looking, and too much perspective into his disguise, if he should shew it here in England; he thought good, after the manner of scenes in stage plays and masks, to shew it afar off; and therefore sailed with his scholar into Ireland, where the affection to the house of York was most in height. The king had been a little improvident in the matters of Ireland, and had not removed officers and counsellors, and put in their places, or at least intermingled, persons of whom he stood assured, as he should have done, since he knew the strong bent of that country towards the house of York; and that it was a ticklish and unsettled state, more easy to receive distempers and mutations than England was. But trusting to the reputation of his victories and successes in England, he thought he should have time enough to extend his cares afterwards to that second kingdom.

Wherefore through this neglect, upon the coming of Simon with his pretended Plantagenet into Ireland, all things were prepared for revolt and sedition, almost as if they had been set and plotted beforehand. Simon's first address was to the Lord Thomas Fitz-Gerard, Earl of Kildare, and deputy of Ireland; before whose eyes he did cast such a mist, by his own insinuation, and by the carriage of his youth, that expressed a natural princely behaviour, as joined perhaps with some inward vapours of ambition and

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affection in the earl's own mind, left him fully possessed, that it was the true Plantagenet. The earl presently communicated the matter with some of the nobles, and others there, at the first secretly; but finding them of like affection to himself, he suffered it of purpose to vent and pass abroad; because they thought it not safe to resolve, till they had a taste of the people's inclination. But if the great ones were in forwardness, the people were in fury, entertaining this airy body or phantasm with incredible affection; partly, out of their great devotion to the house of York; partly, out of a proud humour in the nation, to give a king to the realm of England. Neither did the party, in this heat of affection, much trouble themselves with the attainder of George, duke of Clarence; having newly learned by the king's example, that attainders do not interrupt the conveying of title to the crown. And as for the daughters of King Edward the Fourth, they thought King Richard had said enough for them; and took them to be but as of the king's party, because they were in his power and at his disposing. So that with marvellous consent and applause, this counterfeit Plantagenet was brought with great solemnity to the castle of Dublin, and there saluted, served, and honoured as king; the boy becoming it well, and doing nothing that did bewray the baseness of his condition. And within a few days after he was proclaimed king, in Dublin, by the name of King Edward the Sixth; there being not a sword drawn in King Henry's quarrel.

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The king was much moved with this unexpected accident when it came to his ears, both because it struck upon that string which ever he most feared, as also because it was stirred in such a place, where he could not with safety transfer his own person to suppress it. For partly through natural valour, and partly through an universal suspicion, not knowing whom to trust, he was ever ready to wait upon all his achievements in person. The king therefore first called his council together at the Charter-house at Shine; which council was held with great secrecy, but the open decrees thereof, which presently came abroad, were three.

The first was, that the queen dowager, for that she, contrary to her pact and agreement with those that had concluded with her concerning the marriage of her daughter Elizabeth with King Henry, had nevertheless delivered her daughters out of sanctuary into King Richard's hands, should be cloistered in the nunnery of Bermondsey, and forfeit all her lands and goods.

The next was, that Edward Plantagenet, then close prisoner in the Tower, should be, in the most public and notorious manner that could be devised, shewed unto the people: in part to discharge the king of the envy of that opinion and bruit, how he had been put to death privily in the Tower; but chiefly to make the people see the levity and imposture of the proceedings of Ireland, and that their Plantagenet was indeed but a puppet or a counterfeit.

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The third was, that there should be again proclaimed a general pardon to all that would reveal their offences, and submit themselves by a day. And that this pardon should be conceived in so ample and liberal a manner, as no high treason, no not against the king's own person, should be excepted. Which though it might seem strange, yet was it not so to a wise king, that knew his greatest dangers were not from the least treasons, but from the greatest. These resolutions of the king and his council were immediately put in execution. And first, the queen dowager was put into the monastery of Bermondsey, and all her estates seized into the king's hands: whereat there was much wondering; that a weak woman, for the yielding to the menaces and promises of a tyrant, after such a distance of time, wherein the king had shewed no displeasure nor alteration, but much more after so happy a marriage between the king and her daughter, blessed with issue male, should, upon a sudden mutability or disclosure of the king's mind, be so severely handled.

This lady was amongst the examples of great variety of fortune. She had first from a distressed suitor, and desolate widow, been taken to the marriage bed of a bachelor king, the goodliest personage of his time; and even in his reign she had endured a strange eclipse by the king's flight, and temporary depriving from the crown. She was also very happy, in that she had by him fair issue; and continued his nuptial love, helping herself by some

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obsequious bearing and dissembling of his pleasures, to the very end. She was much affectionate to her own kindred, even unto faction; which did stir great envy in the lords of the king's side, who counted her blood a disparagement to be mingled with the king's. With which lords of the king's blood joined also the king's favourite, the Lord Hastings; who, notwithstanding the king's great affection to him, was thought at times, through her malice and spleen, not to be out of danger of falling. After her husband's death she was matter of tragedy, having lived to see her brother beheaded, and her two sons deposed from the crown, bastarded in their blood, and cruelly murdered. All this while nevertheless she enjoyed her liberty, state, and fortunes: but afterwards again, upon the rise of the wheel, when she had a king to her son-in-law, and was made grandmother to a grandchild of the best sex; yet was she, upon dark and unknown reasons, and no less strange pretences, precipitated and banished the world into a nunnery; where it was almost thought dangerous to visit her, or see her; and where not long after she ended her life: but was by the king's commandment buried with the king her husband, at Windsor. She was foundress of Queen's College, in Cambridge. For this act the king sustained great obloquy, which nevertheless, besides the reason of state, was somewhat sweetened to him by a great confiscation.

About this time also, Edward Plantagenet was upon a Sunday brought throughout all the principal

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streets of London, to be seen of the people. And having passed the view of the streets, was conducted to Paul's Church in solemn procession, where great store of people were assembled. And it was provided also in good fashion, that divers of the nobility, and others of quality, especially of those that the king most suspected, and knew the person of Plantagenet best, had communication with the young gentleman by the way, and entertained him with speech and discourse; which did in effect mar the pageant in Ireland with the subjects here, at least with so many, as out of error, and not out of malice, might be misled. Nevertheless in Ireland, where it was too late to go back, it wrought little or no effect. But contrariwise, they turned the imposture upon the king; and gave out, that the king, to defeat the true inheritor, and to mock the world, and blind the eyes of simple men, had tricked up a boy in the likeness of Edward Plantagenet, and shewed him to the people; not sparing to profane the ceremony of a procession, the more to countenance the fable.

The general pardon likewise near the same time came forth; and the king therewithal omitted no diligence, in giving strait order for the keeping of the ports, that fugitives, malecontents, or suspected persons, might not pass over into Ireland and Flanders.

Meanwhile the rebels in Ireland had sent privy messengers both into England and into Flanders, who in both places had wrought effects of no small importance. For in England they won to their party John, Earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole,

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Duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, King Edward the Fourth's eldest sister. This earl was a man of great wit and courage, and had his thoughts highly raised by hopes and expectations for a time: for Richard the Third had a resolution, out of his hatred to both his brethren, King Edward, and the Duke of Clarence, and their lines, having had his hand in both their bloods, to disable their issues upon false and incompetent pretexts; the one of attainder, the other of illegitimation: and to design this gentleman, in case himself should die without children, for inheritor of the crown. Neither was this unknown to the king, who had secretly an eye upon him. But the king, having tasted of the envy of the people for his imprisonment of Edward Plantagenet, was doubtful to heap up any more distastes of that kind, by the imprisonment of de la Pole also; the rather thinking it policy to conserve him as a co-rival unto the other. The Earl of Lincoln was induced to participate with the action of Ireland, not lightly upon the strength of the proceedings there, which was but a bubble, but upon letters from the lady Margaret of Burgundy, in whose succours and declaration for the enterprise there seemed to be a more solid foundation, both for reputation and forces. Neither did the earl refrain the business, for that he knew the pretended Plantagenet to be but an idol. But contrariwise, he was more glad it should be the false Plantagenet than the true; because the false being sure to fall away of himself, and the true to be made sure of by the king, it might open and pave a fair

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and prepared way to his own title. With this resolution he sailed secretly into Flanders, where was a little before arrived the Lord Lovel, leaving a correspondence here in England with Sir Thomas Broughton, a man of great power and dependencies in Lancashire. For before this time, when the pretended Plantagenet was first received in Ireland, secret messengers had been also sent to the Lady Margaret, advertising her what was passed in Ireland; imploring succours in an enterprise, as they said, so pious and just, and that God had so miraculously prospered the beginning thereof; and making offer that all things should be guided by her will and direction, as the sovereign patroness and protectress of the enterprise. Margaret was second sister to King Edward the Fourth, and had been second wife to Charles, surnamed the Hardy, Duke of Burgundy; by whom having no children of her own, she did with singular care and tenderness intend the education of Philip and Margaret, grandchildren to her former husband; which won her great love and authority among the Dutch. This Princess, having the spirit of a man, and malice of a woman, abounding in treasure by the greatness of her dower and her provident government, and being childless, and without any nearer care, made it her design and enterprise to see the majesty royal of England once again replaced in her house; and had set up King Henry as a mark at whose overthrow all her actions should aim and shoot; insomuch as all the counsels of his succeeding troubles came

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chiefly out of that quiver. And she bare such a mortal hatred to the house of Lancaster, and personally to the king, as she was no ways mollified by the conjunction of the houses in her niece's marriage, but rather hated her niece, as the means of the king's ascent to the crown, and assurance therein. Wherefore with great violence of affection she embraced this overture. And upon counsel taken with the Earl of Lincoln, and the Lord Lovel, and some other of the party, it was resolved with all speed, the two lords, assisted with a regiment of two thousand Almains, being choice and veteran bands, under the command of Martin Swart, a valiant and experimented captain, should pass over into Ireland to the new king; hoping, that when the action should have the face of a received and settled regality, with such a second person as the Earl of Lincoln, and the conjunction and reputation of foreign succours, the fame of it would embolden and prepare all the party of the confederates and malcontents within the realm of England, to give them assistance when they should come over there. And for the person of the counterfeit, it was agreed, that if all things succeeded well he should be put down, and the true Plantagenet received; wherein nevertheless the Earl of Lincoln had his particular hopes. After they were come into Ireland, and that the party took courage, by seeing themselves together in a body, they grew very confident of success; conceiving and discoursing amongst themselves, that they went in upon far better cards to overthrow King Henry, than King

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Henry had to overthrow King Richard: and that if there were not a sword drawn against them in Ireland, it was a sign the swords in England would be soon sheathed or beaten down. And first, for a bravery upon this accession of power, they crowned their new king in the cathedral church of Dublin; who formerly had been but proclaimed only; and then sat in council what should farther be done. At which council, though it were propounded by some, that it were the best way to establish themselves first in Ireland, and to make that the seat of the war, and to draw King Henry thither in person, by whose absence they thought there would be great alterations and commotions in England; yet because the kingdom there was poor, and they should not be able to keep their army together, nor pay their German soldiers; and for that also the sway of the Irishmen, and generally of the men of war, which, as in such cases of popular tumults is usual, did in effect govern their leaders, was eager, and in affection to make their fortunes upon England; it was concluded with all possible speed to transport their forces into England. The king in the mean time, who at first when he heard what was done in Ireland, though it troubled him, yet thought he should be well enough able to scatter the Irish as a flight of birds, and rattle away this swarm of bees with their king; when he heard afterwards that the Earl of Lincoln was embarked in the action, and that the Lady Margaret was declared for it; he apprehended the danger in a true degree as it was, and saw plainly that his

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kingdom must again be put to the stake, and that he must fight for it. And first he did conceive, before he understood of the Earl of Lincoln's sailing into Ireland out of Flanders, that he should be assailed both upon the east parts of the kingdom of England by some impression from Flanders, and upon the north-west out of Ireland. And therefore having ordered musters to be made in both parts, and having provisionally designed two generals, Jasper, Earl of Bedford, and John, Earl of Oxford, meaning himself also to go in person where the affairs should most require it, and nevertheless not expecting any actual invasion at that time, the winter being far on, he took his journey himself towards Suffolk and Norfolk for the confirming of those parts. And being come to St. Edmond's-Bury, he understood that Thomas, Marquis Dorset, who had been one of the pledges in France, was hasting towards him, to purge himself of some accusations which had been made against him. But the king, though he kept an ear for him, yet was the time so doubtful, that he sent the Earl of Oxford to meet him, and forthwith to carry him to the Tower; with a fair message nevertheless, that he should bear that disgrace with patience, for that the king meant not his hurt, but only to preserve him from doing hurt, either to the king's service, or to himself; and that the king should always be able, when he had cleared himself, to make him reparation,

From St. Edmond's-Bury he went to Norwich, where he kept his Christmas: and from thence he

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went, in a manner of pilgrimage, to Walsingham, where he visited our lady's church, famous for miracles, and made his prayers and vows for help and deliverance: and from thence he returned by Cambridge to London. Not long after the rebels, with their king, under the leading of the Earl of Lincoln, the Earl of Kildare, the Lord Lovel, and Colonel Swart, landed at Fouldrey, in Lancashire; whither there repaired to them Sir Thomas Broughton, with some small company of English. The king by that time, knowing now the storm would not divide, but fall in one place, had levied forces in good number; and in person, taking with him his two designed generals, the Duke of Bedford, and the Earl of Oxford, was come on his way towards them as far as Coventry, whence he sent forth a troop of light horsemen for discovery, and to intercept some stragglers of the enemies, by whom he might the better understand the particulars of their progress and purposes, which was accordingly done; though the king otherwise was not without intelligence from espials in the camp.

The rebels took their way toward York, without spoiling the country, or any act of hostility, the better to put themselves into favour of the people and to personate their king; who, no doubt, out of a princely feeling, was sparing and compassionate towards his subjects: but their snow-ball did not gather as it went, for the people came not in to them; neither did any rise or declare themselves in other parts of the kingdom for them; which was caused

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partly by the good taste that the king had given his people of his government, joined with the reputation of his felicity; and partly for that it was an odious thing to the people of England to have a king brought in to them upon the shoulders of Irish and Dutch, of which their army was in substance compounded. Neither was it a thing done with any great judgement on the party of the rebels, for them to take their way towards York: considering that howsoever those parts had formerly been a nursery of their friends, yet it was there where the Lord Lovel had so lately disbanded, and where the king's presence had a little before qualified discontents. The Earl of Lincoln, deceived of his hopes of the country's concourse unto him, in which case he would have temporised, and seeing the business past retract, resolved to make on where the king was and to give him battle; and thereupon marched towards Newark, thinking to have surprised the town. But the king was somewhat before this time come to Nottingham, where he called a council of war, at which was consulted whether it were best to protract time, or speedily to set upon the rebels. In which council the king himself, whose continual vigilancy did suck in sometimes causeless suspicions which few else knew, inclined to the accelerating a battle, but this was presently put out of doubt by the great aids that came in to him in the instant of this consultation, partly upon missives and partly voluntaries, from many parts of the kingdom.

The principal persons that came then to the

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king's aid, were the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Lord Strange, of the nobility; and of knights and gentlemen, to the number of at least threescore and ten persons, with their companies; making in the whole, at the least, six thousand fighting men, besides the forces that were with the king before. Whereupon the king, finding his army so bravely reinforced, and a great alacrity in all his men to fight, was confirmed in his former resolution, and marched speedily, so as he put himself between the enemies' camp and Newark, being loth their army should get the commodity of that town. The earl, nothing dismayed, came forwards that day unto a little village called Stoke, and there encamped that night, upon the brow or hanging of a hill. The king the next day presented him battle upon the plain, the fields there being open and champain. The earl courageously came down and joined battle with him. Concerning which battle the relations that are left unto us are so naked and negligent, though it be an action of so recent memory, as they rather declare the success of the day than the manner of the fight. They say that the king divided his army into three battails; whereof the vant-guard only, well strengthened with wings, came to fight: that the fight was fierce and obstinate, and lasted three hours, before the victory inclined either way; save that judgement might be made by that the king's vant-guard of itself maintained fight against the whole power of the enemies, (the other two battails remaining out of action) what the success

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was like to be in the end: that Martin Swart with his Germans performed bravely, and so did those few English that were on that side: neither did the Irish fail in courage or fierceness; but being almost naked men, only armed with darts and skeins, it was rather an execution than a fight upon them; insomuch as the furious slaughter of them was a great discouragement and appalment to the rest: that there died upon the place all the chieftains; that is, the Earl of Lincoln, the Earl of Kildare, Francis Lord Lovel, Martin Swart, and Sir Thomas Broughton: all making good the fight without any ground given. Only of the Lord Lovel there went a report, that he fled, and swam over Trent on horseback, but could not recover the farther side by reason of the steepness of the bank, and so was drowned in the river. But another report leaves him not there, but that he lived long after in a cave or vault. The number that was slain in the field, was of the enemies' part four thousand at the least; and of the king's part, one half his vant-guard, besides many hurt, but none of name. There were taken prisoners, amongst others, the counterfeit Plantagenet, now Lambert Simnell again, and the crafty priest his tutor. For Lambert, the king would not take his life, both out of magnanimity, taking him but as an image of wax that others had tempered and molded; and likewise out of wisdom, thinking that if he suffered death, he would be forgotten too soon; but being kept alive, he would be a continual spectacle, and a kind of remedy against the like enchantments of people in

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time to come. For which cause he was taken into service in his court to a base office in his kitchen; so that, in a kind of "mattacina" of human force, he turned a broach that had worn a crown; whereas fortune commonly doth not bring in a comedy or farce after a tragedy. And afterwards he was preferred to be one of the king's falconers. As to the priest, he was committed close prisoner, and heard of no more; the king loving to seal up his own dangers.

After the battle the king went to Lincoln, where he caused supplications and thanksgivings to be made for his deliverance and victory. And that his devotions might go round in circle, he sent his banner to be offered to our lady of Walsingham, where before he made his vows. And thus delivered of this so strange an engine, and new invention of fortune, he returned to his former confidence of mind; thinking now, that all his misfortunes had come at once. But it fell out unto him according to the speech of the common people in the beginning of his reign, that said, "It was a token he should reign in labour, "because his reign began with a sickness of sweat." But howsoever the king thought himself now in a haven, yet such was his wisdom, as his confidence did seldom darken his foresight, especially in things near hand. And therefore, awakened by so fresh and unexpected dangers, he entered into due consideration, as well how to weed out the partakers of the former rebellion, as to kill the seeds of the like in time to come; and withal to take away all shelters and harbours for discontented persons, where they might

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hatch and foster rebellions, which afterwards might gather strength and motion. And first, he did yet again make a progress from Lincoln to the northern parts, though it were indeed rather an itinerary circuit of justice than a progress. For all along as he went, with much severity and strict inquisition, partly by martial law, and partly by commission, were punished the adherents and aiders of the late rebels. Not all by death, for the field had drawn much blood, but by fines and ransoms, which spared life and raised treasure. Amongst other crimes of this nature, there was diligent inquiry made of such as had raised a bruit and rumour a little before the field fought, "that the rebels had the day; and "that the king's army was overthrown, and the king "fled." Whereby it was supposed that many succours, which otherwise would have come unto the king, were cunningly put off and kept back. Which charge and accusation, though it had some ground, yet it was industriously embraced and put on by divers, who having been in themselves not the best affected to the king's part, nor forward to come to his aid, were glad to apprehend this colour to cover their neglect and coldness, under the pretence of such discouragements. Which cunning nevertheless the king would not understand, though he lodged it, and noted it in some particulars as his manner was.

But for the extirpating of the roots and causes of the like commotions in time to come, the king began to find where his shoe did wring him, and that it was his depressing of the house of York that did

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rankle and fester the affections of his people. And therefore being now too wise to disdain perils any longer, and willing to give some contentment in that kind, at least in ceremony, he resolved at last to proceed to the coronation of his queen. And therefore at his coming to London, where he entered in state, and in a kind of triumph, and celebrated his victory with two days of devotion, for the first day he repaired to Paul's, and had the hymn of "Te "Deum" sung, and the morrow after he went in procession, and heard the sermon at the cross, the queen was with great solemnity crowned at Westminster, the five and twentieth of November, in the third year of his reign, which was about two years after the marriage; like an old christening, that had stayed long for godfathers. Which strange and unusual distance of time made it subject to every man's note, that it was an act against his stomach, and put upon him by necessity and reason of state. Soon after, to shew that it was now fair weather again, and that the imprisonment of Thomas, Marquis Dorset, was rather upon suspicion of the time than of the man, he, the said marquis, was set at liberty without examination or other circumstance. At that time also the king sent an ambassador unto Pope Innocent, signifying unto him this his marriage; and that now, like another Æneas, he had passed through the floods of his former troubles and travels, and was arrived unto a safe haven: and thanking his holiness that he had honoured the celebration of his marriage with the presence of his

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ambassador; and offering both his person and the forces of his kingdom, upon all occasions, to do him service.

The ambassador making his oration to the pope, in the presence of the cardinals, did so magnify the king and queen, as was enough to glut the hearers. But then he did again so extol and deify the pope, as made all that he had said in praise of his master and mistress seem temperate and passable. But he was very honourably entertained, and extremely much made on by the pope: who knowing himself to be lazy and unprofitable to the Christian world, was wonderfully glad to hear that there were such echoes of him sounding in remote parts. He obtained also of the pope a very just and honourable bull, qualifying the privileges of sanctuary, wherewith the king had been extremely gulled in three points.

The first, that if any sanctuary man did by night, or otherwise, get out of sanctuary privily, and commit mischief and trespass, and then come in again, he should lose the benefit of sanctuary for ever after. The second, that howsoever the person of the sanctuary man was protected from his creditors, yet his goods out of sanctuary should not. The third, that if any took sanctuary for case of treason, the king might appoint him keepers to look to him in sanctuary.

The king also, for the better securing of his estate against mutinous and malcontented subjects, whereof he saw the realm was full, who might have their refuge into Scotland, which was not under key

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as the ports were; for that cause rather than for any doubt of hostility from those parts, before his coming to London, when he was at Newcastle, had sent a solemn ambassage unto James the Third, king of Scotland, to treat and conclude a peace with him. The ambassadors were, Richard Fox, Bishop of Exeter, and Sir Richard Edgcombe, comptroller of the king's house, who were honourably received and entertained there. But the King of Scotland, labouring of the same disease that King Henry did, though more mortal, as afterwards appeared, that is, discontented subjects, apt to rise and raise tumult, although in his own affection he did much desire to make a peace with the king; yet finding his nobles averse, and not daring to displease them, concluded only a truce for seven years; giving nevertheless promise in private, that it should be renewed from time to time during the two kings' lives.

Hitherto the king had been exercised in settling his affairs at home. But about this time brake forth an occasion that drew him to look abroad, and to hearken to foreign business. Charles the Eighth, the French king, by the virtue and good fortune of his two immediate predecessors, Charles the Seventh, his grandfather, and Lewis the Eleventh, his father, received the kingdom of France in more flourishing and spread estate than it had been of many years before; being redintegrate in those principal members, which anciently had been portions of the crown of France, and were afterward discovered, so as they remained only in homage and not in sovereignty,

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being governed by absolute princes of their own, Anjou, Normandy, Provence, and Burgundy. There remained only Britain to be re-united, and so the monarchy of France to be reduced to the ancient terms and bounds.

King Charles was not a little inflamed with an ambition to re-purchase and re-annex that duchy: which his ambition was a wise and well-weighed ambition; not like unto the ambitions of his succeeding enterprises of Italy. For at that time, being newly come to the crown, he was somewhat guided by his father's counsels, counsels not counsellors, for his father was his own council, and had few able men about him. And that king, he knew well, had ever distasted the designs of Italy, and in particular had an eye upon Britain. There were many circumstances that did feed the ambition of Charles with pregnant and apparent hopes of success: the duke of Britain old, and entered into a lethargy, and served with mercenary counsellors, father of two only daughters, the one sickly and not likely to continue; King Charles himself in the flower of age, and the subjects of France at that time well trained for war, both for leaders and soldiers; men of service being not yet worn out since the wars of Lewis against Burgundy. He found himself also in peace with all his neighbour princes. As for those that might oppose to his enterprise, Maximilian king of the Romans, his rival in the same desires (as well for the duchy, as the daughter) feeble in means; and King Henry of

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England, as well somewhat obnoxious to him for his favours and benefits, as busied in his particular troubles at home. There was also a fair and specious occasion offered him to hide his ambition, and to justify his warring upon Britain; for that the duke had received and succoured Lewis, duke of Orleans, and other of the French nobility, which had taken arms against their king. Wherefore King Charles, being resolved upon that war, knew well he could not receive any opposition so potent, as if King Henry should, either upon policy of state in preventing the growing greatness of France, or upon gratitude unto the duke of Britain for his former favours in the time of his distress, espouse that quarrel, and declare himself in aid of the duke. Therefore he no sooner heard that King Henry was settled by his victory, but forthwith he sent ambassadors unto him to pray his assistance, or at least that he would stand neutral. Which ambassadors found the king at Leicester, and delivered their ambassage to this effect: they first imparted unto the king the success that their master had had a little before against Maximilian, in recovery of certain towns from him; which was done in a kind of privacy, and inwardness towards the king; as if the French king did not esteem him for an outward or formal confederate, but as one that had part in his affections and fortunes, and with whom he took pleasure to communicate his business. After this compliment, and some gratulation for the king's victory, they fell to their errand; declaring to the king, that their

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master was enforced to enter into a just and necessary war with the duke of Britain, for that he had received and succoured those that were traitors and declared enemies unto his person and state. That they were no mean, distressed, and calamitous persons that fled to him for refuge, but of so great quality, as it was apparent that they came not thither to protect their own fortune, but to infest and invade his; the head of them being the Duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood, and the second person of France. That therefore, rightly to understand it, it was rather on their master's part a defensive war than an offensive; as that could not be omitted or forborn, if he tendered the conservation of his own estate; and that it was not the first blow that made the war invasive, for that no wise prince would stay for, but the first provocation, or at least the first preparation; nay, that this war was rather a suppression of rebels, than a war with a just enemy; where the case is, that his subjects, traitors, are received by the Duke of Britain his homager. That King Henry knew well what went upon it in example, if neighbour princes should patronize and comfort rebels against the law of nations and of leagues. Nevertheless that their master was not ignorant, that the king had been beholden to the Duke of Britain in his adversity; as on the other side, they knew he would not forget also the readiness of their king, in aiding him when the Duke of Britain, or his mercenary counsellors, failed him, and would have betrayed him; and that there was a

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great difference between the courtesies received from their master, and the duke of Britain: for that the duke's might have ends of utility and bargain; whereas their master's could not have proceeded but out of entire affection; for that, if it had been measured by a politic line, it had been better for his affairs, that a tyrant should have reigned in England, troubled and hated, than such a prince, whose virtues could not fail to make him great and potent, whensoever he was come to be master of his affairs. But howsoever it stood for the point of obligation which the king might owe to the duke of Britain, yet their master was well assured, it would not divert King Henry of England from doing that that was just, nor ever embark him in so ill-grounded a quarrel. Therefore, since this war, which their master was now to make, was but to deliver himself from imminent dangers, their king hoped the king would show the like affection to the conservation of their master's estate, as their master had, when time was, shewed to the king's acquisition of his kingdom. At the least, that according to the inclination which the king had ever professed of peace, he would look on, and stand neutral; for that their master could not with reason press him to undertake part in the war, being so newly settled and recovered from intestine seditions. But touching the mystery of re-annexing of the duchy of Britain to the crown of France, either by war, or by marriage with the daughter of Britain, the ambassadors bare aloof from it as from a rock, knowing that it made most

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against them. And therefore by all means declined any mention thereof, but contrariwise interlaced, in their conference with the king, the assured purpose of their master to match with the daughter of Maximilian; and entertained the king also with some wandering discourses of their king's purpose, to recover by arms his right to the kingdom of Naples, by an expedition in person; all to remove the king from all jealousy of any design in these hither parts upon Britain, otherwise than for quenching of the fire which he feared might be kindled in his own estate.

The king, after advice taken with his council, made answer to the ambassadors: and first returned their compliment, shewing he was right glad of the French king's reception of those towns from Maximilian. Then he familiarly related some particular passages of his own adventures and victory passed. As to the business of Britain, the king answered in few words; that the French king, and the duke of Britain, were the two persons to whom he was most obliged of all men; and that he should think himself very unhappy if things should go so between them, as he should not be able to acquit himself in gratitude towards them both; and that there was no means for him as a Christian king, and a common friend to them, to satisfy all obligations both to God and man, but to offer himself for a mediator of an accord and peace between them; by which course he doubted not but their king's estate, and honour both, would be preserved with more safety and less

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envy than by a war; and that he would spare no costs or pains, no if it were to go on pilgrimage, for so good an effect; and concluded, that in this great affair, which he took so much to heart, he would express himself more fully by an ambassage, which he would speedily dispatch unto the French king for that purpose. And in this sort the French ambassadors were dismissed: the king avoiding to understand anything touching the re-annexing of Britain, as the ambassadors had avoided to mention it: save that he gave a little touch of it in the word envy. And so it was, that the king was neither so shallow, nor so ill advertised, as not to perceive the intention of the French for the investing himself of Britain. But first, he was utterly unwilling, howsoever he gave out, to enter into war with France. A fame of a war he liked well, but not an achievement; for the one he thought would make him richer, and the other poorer; and he was possessed with many secret fears touching his own people, which he was therefore loth to arm, and put weapons into their hands. Yet notwithstanding, as a prudent and courageous prince, he was not so averse from a war, but that he was resolved to choose it, rather than to have Britain carried by France, being so great and opulent a duchy, and situate so opportunely to annoy England, either for coast or trade. But the king's hopes were, that partly by negligence, commonly imputed to the French, especially in the court of a young king, and partly by the native power of Britain itself, which was not small; but

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chiefly in respect of the great party that the Duke of Orleans had in the kingdom of France, and thereby means to stir up civil troubles, to divert the French king from the enterprise of Britain. And lastly, in regard of the power of Maximilian, who was corrival to the French king in that pursuit, the enterprise would either bow to a peace, or break in itself. In all which the king measured and valued things amiss, as afterwards appeared. He sent therefore forthwith to the French king Christopher Urswick, his chaplain, a person by him much trusted and employed: choosing him the rather, because he was a churchman, as best sorting with an embassy of pacification: and giving him also a commission, that if the French king consented to treat, he should thence repair to the Duke of Britain, and ripen the treaty on both parts. Urswick made declaration to the French king, much to the purpose of the king's answer to the French ambassadors here, instilling also tenderly some overture of receiving to grace the Duke of Orleans, and some taste of conditions of accord. But the French king on the other side proceeded not sincerely, but with a great deal of art and dissimulation in this treaty; having for his end, to gain time, and so put off the English succours under hope of peace, till he had got good footing in Britain by force of arms. Wherefore he answered the ambassador, that he would put himself into the king's hands, and make him arbiter of the peace; and willingly consented, that the ambassador should straightways pass into Britain, to signify this

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his consent, and to know the Duke's mind likewise; well foreseeing that the Duke of Orleans, by whom the Duke of Britain was wholly led, taking himself to be upon terms irreconcileable with him, would admit of no treaty of peace. Whereby he should in one, both generally abroad veil over his ambition, and win the reputation of just and moderate proceedings; and should withal endear himself in the affections of the king of England, as one that had committed all to his will; nay, and which was yet more fine, make faith in him, that although he went on with the war, yet it should be but with the sword in his hand, to bend the stiffness of the other party to accept of peace; and so the king should take no umbrage of his arming and prosecution; but the treaty to be kept on foot to the very last instant, till he were master of the field.

Which grounds being by the French king wisely laid, all things fell out as he expected. For when the English ambassador came to the court of Britain, the duke was then scarcely perfect in his memory, and all things were directed by the Duke of Orleans, who gave audience to the chaplain Urswick, and upon his ambassage delivered, made answer in somewhat high terms: that the Duke of Britain having been an host, and a kind of parent or foster-father to the king, in his tenderness of age and weakness of fortune, did look for at this time from King Henry, the renowned king of England, rather brave troops for his succours, than a vain treaty of peace. And if the king could forget the good offices

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of the duke done unto him aforetime; yet, he knew well, he would in his wisdom consider of the future, how much it imported his own safety and reputation, both in foreign parts, and with his own people, not to suffer Britain, the old confederates of England, to be swallowed up by France, and so many good ports and strong towns upon the coast be in the command of so potent a neighbour king, and so ancient an enemy: and therefore humbly desired the king to think of this business as his own: and therewith brake off, and denied any farther conference for treaty.

Urswick returned first to the French king, and related to him what had passed. Who finding things to sort to his desire, took hold of them, and said; that the ambassador might perceive now that, which he for his part partly imagined before. That considering in what hands the duke of Britain was, there would be no peace but by a mixed treaty of force and persuasion: and therefore he would go on with the one, and desired the king not to desist from the other. But for his own part, he did faithfully promise to be still in the king's power, to rule him in the matter of peace. This was accordingly represented unto the king by Urswick at his return, and in such a fashion, as if the treaty were in no sort desperate, but rather stayed for a better hour, till the hammer had wrought and beat the party of Britain more pliant. Whereupon there passed continually packets and dispatches between the two kings, from the one out of desire, and from the

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other out of dissimulation, about the negociation of peace. The French king mean while invaded Britain with great forces, and distressed the city of Nantz with a strait siege, and, as one, who though he had no great judgement, yet had that, that he could dissemble at home, the more he did urge the prosecution of the war, the more he did, at the same time, urge the solicitation of the peace. Insomuch as during the seige of Nantz, after many letters and particular messages, the better to maintain his dissimulation, and to refresh the treaty, he sent Barnard D'Aubigney, a person of good quality, to the king, earnestly to desire him to make an end of the business howsoever.

The king was no less ready to revive and quicken the treaty; and thereupon sent three commissioners, the abbot of Abingdon, Sir Richard Tunstal, and chaplain Urswick formerly employed, to do their utmost endeavours to manage the treaty roundly and strongly.

About this time the Lord Woodvile, uncle to the queen, a valiant gentleman, and desirous of honour, sued to the king that he might raise some power of voluntaries underhand, and without licence or passport (wherein the king might any ways appear) go to the aid of the Duke of Britain. The king denied his request, or at least seemed so to do, and laid strait commandment upon him, that he should not stir, for that the king thought his honour would suffer therein, during a treaty, to better a party. Nevertheless this lord, either being unruly, or out of

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conceit that the king would not inwardly dislike that, which he would not openly avow, sailed directly over into the Isle of Wight, whereof he was governor, and levied a fair troop of four hundred men, and with them passed over into Britain, and joined himself with the duke's forces. The news whereof, when it came to the French court, put divers young bloods into such a fury, as the English ambassadors were not without peril to be outraged. But the French king, both to preserve the privilege of ambassadors, and being conscious to himself, that in the business of peace he himself was the greater dissembler of the two, forbad all injuries of fact or word against their persons or followers. And presently came an agent from the king, to purge himself touching the Lord Woodvile's going over; using for a principal argument, to demonstrate that it was without his privity, for that the troops were so small, as neither had the face of a succour by authority, nor could much advance the Britain affairs. To which message although the French king gave no full credit, yet he made fair weather with the king, and seemed satisfied. Soon after the English ambassadors returned, having two of them been likewise with the Duke of Britain, and found things in no other terms than they were before. Upon their return, they informed the king of the state of the affairs, and how far the French king was from any true meaning of peace; and therefore he was now to advise of some other course; neither was the king himself led all this while with credulity merely, as

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was generally supposed; but his error was not so much facility of belief, as an ill measuring of the forces of the other party.

For, as was partly touched before, the king had cast the business thus with himself. He took it for granted in his own judgement, that the war of Britain, in respect of the strength of the towns and of the party, could not speedily come to a period. For he conceived, that the counsels of a war, that was undertaken by the French king, then childless, against an heir apparent of France, would be very faint and slow; and, besides, that it was not possible, but that the state of France should be embroiled with some troubles and alterations in favour of the Duke of Orleans. He conceived likewise, that Maximilian, king of the Romans, was a prince, warlike and potent; who, he made account, would give succours to the Britains roundly. So then judging it would be a work of time, he laid his plot how he might best make use of that time for his own affairs. Wherein first he thought to make his vantage upon his parliament; knowing that they being affectionate unto the quarrel of Britain, would give treasure largely; which treasure, as a noise of war might draw forth, so a peace succeeding might coffer up. And because he knew his people were hot upon the business, he chose rather to seem to be deceived, and lulled asleep by the French, than to be backward in himself; considering his subjects were not so fully capable of the reasons of state, which made him hold back. Wherefore to all these purposes he saw no

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other expedient, than to set and keep on foot a continual treaty of peace, laying it down, and taking it up again, as the occurrence required. Besides, he had in consideration the point of honour, in bearing the blessed person of a pacificator. He thought likewise to make use of the envy that the French king met with by occasion of this war of Britain, in strengthening himself with new alliances; as, namely, that of Ferdinando of Spain, with whom he had ever a consent even in nature and customs; and likewise with Maximilian, who was particularly interested. So that in substance he promised himself money, honour, friends, and peace in the end. But those things were too fine to be fortunate and succeed in all parts; for that great affairs are commonly too rough and stubborn to be wrought upon by the finer edges or points of wit. The king was likewise deceived in his two main grounds. For although he had reason to conceive that the council of France would be wary to put the king into a war against the heir apparent of France; yet he did not consider that Charles was not guided by any of the principal of the blood or nobility, but by mean men, who would make it their master-piece of credit and favour, to give venturous counsels which no great or wise man durst or would. And for Maximilian, he was thought then a greater matter than he was; his unstable and necessitous courses being not then known.

After consultation with the ambassadors, who brought him no other news than he expected before,

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though he would not seem to know it till then, he presently summoned his parliament, and in open parliament propounded the cause of Britain to both houses, by his chancellor Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, who spake to this effect.

"My lords and masters, the king's grace, our "sovereign lord, hath commanded me to declare "unto you the causes that have moved him at this "time to summon this his parliament; which I shall "do in few words, craving pardon of his grace, and "you all, if I perform it not as I would.

"His grace doth first of all let you know, that "he retaineth in thankful memory the love and "loyalty shewn to him by you, at your last meeting, "in establishment of his royalty; freeing and dis-"charging of his partakers, and confiscation of his "traitors and rebels; more than which could not "come from subjects to their sovereign in one action. "This he taketh so well at your hands, as he hath "made it a resolution to himself, to communicate "with so loving and well approved subjects, in all "affairs that are of public nature at home or abroad.

"Two therefore are the causes of your present "assembling: the one a foreign business, the other "matter of government at home.

"The French king, as no doubt ye have heard, "maketh at this present hot war upon the Duke of "Britain. His army is now before Nantz, and hold-"eth it straitly besieged, being the principal city, if "not in ceremony and pre-eminence, yet in strength "and wealth, of that duchy. Ye may guess at his

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" hopes, by his attempting of the hardest part of the " war first. The cause of this war he knoweth best. " He alledgeth the entertaining and succouring of " the Duke of Orleans, and some other French lords, " whom the king taketh for his enemies. Others " divine of other matters. Both parts have, by their " ambassadors, divers times prayed the king's aids : " the French king aids or neutrality ; the Britains " aids simply ; for so their case requireth. The king, " as a Christian prince, and blessed son of the holy " church, hath offered himself as a mediator to treat " of a peace between them. The French king yieldeth " to treat, but will not stay the prosecution of the " war. The Britains that desire peace most hearken " to it least; not upon confidence or stiffness, but " upon distrust of true meaning, seeing the war goes " on. So as the king, after as much pains and care to " effect a peace as ever he took in any business, not " being able to remove the prosecution on the one side " nor the distrust on the other, caused by that pro- " secution, hath let fall the treaty ; not repenting of " it, but despairing of it now as not likely to succeed. " Therefore by this narrative you now understand " the state of the question, whereupon the king " prayeth your advice ; which is no other, but whe- " ther he shall enter into an auxiliary and defensive " war for the Britains against France ?

" And the better to open your understandings in " this affair, the king hath commanded me to say " somewhat to you from him, of the persons that do " intervene in this business ; and somewhat of the

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" consequence thereof, as it hath relation to this " kingdom, and somewhat of the example of it in " general; making nevertheless no conclusion or " judgement of any point, until his grace hath re- " ceived your faithful and politic advices.

" First, for the king our sovereign himself, who " is the principal person you are to eye in this busi- " ness; his grace doth profess, that he truly and con- " stantly desireth to reign in peace. But his grace " saith he will neither buy peace with dishonour, " nor take it up at interest of danger to ensue; but " shall think it a good change, if it please God " to change the inward troubles and seditions where- " with he hath been hitherto exercised into an " honourable foreign war. And for the other two " persons in this action, the French king and the " Duke of Britain, his grace doth declare unto you, " that they be the men unto whom he is of all other " friends and allies most bounden: the one having " held over him his hand of protection from the " tyrant; the other having reached forth unto him " his hand of help for the recovery of his king- " dom. So that his affection toward them in his na- " tural person is upon equal terms. And whereas " you may have heard that his grace was enforced " to fly out of Britain into France for doubts of be- " ing betrayed, his grace would not in any sort have " that reflect upon the Duke of Britain in deface- " ment of his former benefits; for that he is " thoroughly informed, that it was but the practice " of some corrupt persons about him, during the

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" time of his sickness, altogether without his consent
" or privity.

" But howsoever these things do interest his
" grace in this particular, yet he knoweth well that
" the higher bond that tieth him to procure by all
" means the safety and welfare of his loving subjects,
" doth disinterest him of these obligations of grati-
" tude otherwise than thus; that if his grace be
" forced to make a war, he do it without passion or
" ambition.

" For the consequence of this action towards
" this kingdom, it is much as the French king's in-
" tention is. For if it be no more, but to range his
" subjects to reason, who bear themselves stout upon
" the strength of the Duke of Britain, it is nothing
" to us. But if it be in the French king's purpose,
" or if it should not be in his purpose, yet if it shall
" follow all one, as if it were sought, that the French
" king shall make a province of Britain, and join it
" to the crown of France; then it is worthy the con-
" sideration, how this may import England, as well
" in the increasement of the greatness of France, by
" the addition of such a country, that stretcheth his
" boughs unto our seas, as in depriving this na-
" tion, and leaving it naked of so firm and assured
" confederates as the Britains have always been.
" For then it will come to pass, that whereas not
" long since this realm was mighty upon the conti-
" nent, first in territory, and after in alliance, in
" respect of Burgundy and Britain, which were con-
" federates indeed, but dependent confederates; now

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" the one being already cast, partly into the great-
" ness of France, and partly into that of Austria, the
" the other is like wholly to be cast into the greatness
" of France; and this island shall remain confined
" in effect within the salt waters, and girt about with
" the coast countries of two mighty monarchs.

" For the example, it resteth likewise upon the
" same question, upon the French king's intent.
" For if Britain be carried and swallowed up by
" France, as the world abroad, apt to impute and
" construe the actions of princes to ambition, con-
" ceive it will; then it is an example very dangerous
" and universal, that the lesser neighbour state
" should be devoured of the greater, For this may
" be the case of Scotland towards England; of Por-
" tugal towards Spain; of the smaller estates of
" Italy towards the greater; and so of Germany; or
" as if some of you of the commons might not live
" and dwell safely besides some of these great lords.
" And the bringing in of this example will be chiefly
" laid to the king's charge, as to him that was most
" interested and most able to forbid it. But then
" on the other side, there is so fair a pretext on the
" French king's part, and yet pretext is never want-
" ing to power, in regard the danger imminent to
" his own estate is such as may make this enter-
" prise seem rather a work of necessity than of am-
" bition, as doth in reason correct the danger of the
" example. For that the example of that which is
" done in a man's own defence cannot be dangerous;

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" because it is in another's power to avoid it. But " in all this business the king remits himself to your " grave and mature advice, whereupon he purposeth " to rely."

This was the effect of the Lord Chancellor's speech touching the cause of Britain; for the king had commanded him to carry it so as to affect the parliament towards the business: but without engaging the king in any express declaration.

The Chancellor went on:

" For that which may concern the government at " home, the king hath commanded me to say unto " you, that he thinketh there was never any king, " for the small time that he hath reigned, had greater " and juster cause of the two contrary passions of " joy and sorrow than his grace hath. Joy, in " respect of the rare and visible favours of Almighty " God, in girding the imperial sword upon his side, " and assisting the same his sword against all his " enemies; and likewise in blessing him with so " many good and loving servants and subjects which " have never failed to give him faithful counsel, " ready obedience, and courageous defence. Sorrow, " for that it hath not pleased God to suffer him to " sheath his sword, as he greatly desired, otherwise " than for administration of justice, but that he hath " been forced to draw it so oft, to cut off traitorous " and disloyal subjects, whom, it seems, God hath " left, a few amongst many good, as the Canaanites " amongst the people of Israel, to be thorns in their

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" sides, to tempt and try them; though the end hath " been always, God's name be blessed therefore, that " the destruction hath fallen upon their own heads.

" Wherefore his grace saith; That he seeth that " it is not the blood spilt in the field that will save " the blood in the city; nor the marshal's sword that " will set this kingdom in perfect peace: but that " the true way is, to stop the seeds of sedition and " rebellion in their beginnings; and for that purpose " to devise, confirm, and quicken good and whole- " some laws against riots, and unlawful assemblies of " people, and all combinations and confederacies of " them, by liveries, tokens, and other badges of " factious dependence; that the peace of the land " may by these ordinances, as by bars of iron, be " soundly bound in and strengthened, and all force, " both in court, country, and private houses, be sup- " prest. The care hereof, which so much concerneth " yourselves, and which the nature of the times doth " instantly call for, his grace commends to your " wisdoms.

" And because it is the king's desire, that this " peace, wherein he hopeth to govern and maintain " you, do not bear only unto you leaves, for you to " sit under the shade of them in safety; but also " should bear you fruit of riches, wealth, and plenty; " therefore his grace prays you to take into consi- " deration matter of trade, as also the manufactures " of the kingdom, and to repress the bastard and " barren employment of moneys to usury and un- " lawful exchanges; that they may be, as their na-

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... is, turned upon commerce, and lawful
... royal trading. And likewise that our people
... set on work in arts and handicrafts; that the
" realm may subsist more of itself; that idleness be
" avoided, and the draining out of our treasure for
" foreign manufactures stopped. But you are not
" to rest here only, but to provide further, that what-
" soever merchandise shall be brought in from
" beyond the seas, may be employed upon the com-
" modities of this land; whereby the kingdom's stock
" of treasure may be sure to be kept from being
" diminished by any over-trading of the foreigner.

" And lastly, because the king is well assured,
" that you would not have him poor that wishes you
" rich; he doubteth not but that you will have care
" as well to maintain his revenues of customs and all
" other natures, as also to supply him with your
" loving aids, if the case shall so require. The
" rather, for that you know the king is a good hus-
" band, and but a steward in effect for the public;
" and that what comes from you is but as moisture
" drawn from the earth, which gathers into a cloud,
" and falls back upon the earth again. And you
" know well how the kingdoms about you grow
" more and more in greatness, and the times are
" stirring, and therefore not fit to find the king
" with an empty purse. More I have not to say
" to you; and wish that what hath been said had
" been better expressed: but that your wisdoms and
" good affections will supply. God bless your
" doings."

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It was no hard matter to dispose and affect the parliament in this business, as well in respect of the emulation between the nations, and the envy at the late growth of the French monarchy; as in regard of the danger to suffer the French to make their approaches upon England, by obtaining so goodly a maritime province, full of sea-towns and havens, that might do mischief to the English, either by invasion or by interruption of traffic. The parliament was also moved with the point of oppression; for although the French seemed to speak reason, yet arguments are ever with multitudes too weak for suspicions. Wherefore they did advise the king roundly to embrace the Britons' quarrel, and to send them speedy aids; and with much alacrity and forwardness granted to the king a great rate of subsidy in contemplation of these aids. But the king, both to keep a decency towards the French king, to whom he profest himself to be obliged, and indeed desirous rather to shew war than to make it, sent new solemn ambassadors to intimate unto him the decree of his estates, and to iterate his motion, that the French would desist from hostility; or if war must follow, to desire him to take it in good part, if at the motion of his people, who were sensible of the cause of the Britons as their ancient friends and confederates, he did send them succours; with protestation nevertheless, that, to save all treaties and laws of friendship, he had limited his forces, to proceed in aid of the Britons, but in no wise to war upon the French, otherwise than as they maintained the possession of

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Britain. But before this formal ambassage arrived, the party of the duke had received a great blow, and grew to manifest declination. For near the town of St. Alban in Britain, a battle had been given, where the Britons were overthrown, and the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orange taken prisoners, there being slain on the Britains' part six thousand men, and amongst them the Lord Woodville, and almost all his soldiers, valiantly fighting. And of the French part, one thousand two hundred, with their leader James Galeot, a great commander.

When the news of this battle came over into England, it was time for the king, who now had no subterfuge to continue further treaty, and saw before his eyes that Britain went so speedily for lost, contrary to his hopes: knowing also that with his people, and foreigners both, he sustained no small envy and disreputation for his former delays, to dispatch with all possible speed his succours into Britain; which he did under the conduct of Robert, Lord Brooke, to the number of eight thousand choice men and well armed; who having a fair wind, in few hours landed in Britain, and joined themselves forthwith to those Briton forces that remained after the defeat, and marched straight on to find the enemy, and encamped fast by them. The French wisely husbanding the possession of a victory, and well acquainted with the courage of the English, especially when they are fresh, kept themselves within their trenches, being strongly lodged, and resolved not to give battle. But meanwhile, to harass and weary the English,

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they did upon all advantages set upon them with their light horse; wherein nevertheless they received commonly loss, especially by means of the English archers.

But upon these achievements Francis, duke of Britain, deceased; an accident that the king might easily have foreseen, and ought to have reckoned upon and provided for, but that the point of reputation, when news first came of the battle lost, that somewhat must be done, did overbear the reason of war.

After the duke's decease, the principal persons of Britain, partly bought, partly through faction, put all things into confusion; so as the English not finding head or body with whom to join their forces, and being in jealousy of friends, as well as in danger of enemies, and the winter begun, returned home five months after their landing. So the battle of St. Alban, the death of the duke, and the retire of the English succours, were, after some time, the causes of the loss of that duchy; which action some accounted as a blemish of the king's judgement, but most but as the misfortune of his times.

But howsoever the temporary fruit of the parliament, in their aid and advice given for Britain, took not, nor prospered not; yet the lasting fruit of parliament, which is good and wholesome laws, did prosper, and doth yet continue to this day. For, according to the Lord Chancellor's admonition, there were that parliament divers excellent laws ordained concerning the points which the king recommended.

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First, the authority of the star-chamber, which before subsisted by the ancient common laws of the realm, was confirmed in certain cases by act of parliament. This court is one of the sagest and noblest institutions of this kingdom. For in the distribution of courts of ordinary justice, besides the high court of parliament, in which distribution the king's bench holdeth the pleas of the crown, the common-place pleas civil, the exchequer pleas concerning the king's revenue, and the chancery the pretorian power for mitigating the rigour of law, in case of extremity, by the conscience of a good man; there was nevertheless always reserved a high and pre-eminent power to the king's council in causes that might in example or consequence concern the state of the commonwealth; which if they were criminal, the council used to sit in the chamber called the star chamber; if civil, in the white chamber or white hall. And as the chancery had the pretorian power for equity, so the star chamber had the censorian power for offences under the degree of capital. This court of star chamber is compounded of good elements, for it consisteth of four kinds of persons, counsellors, peers, prelates, and chief judges. It discerneth also principally of four kinds of causes, forces, frauds, crimes various of stellionate, and the inchoations or middle acts towards crimes capital or heinous, not actually committed or perpetrated. But that which was principally aimed at by this act was force, and the two chief supports of force, combination of multitudes, and maintenance or headship of great persons.

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From the general peace of the country the king's care went on to the peace of the king's house, and the security of his great officers and counsellors. But this law was somewhat of a strange composition and temper. That if any of the king's servants under the degree of a lord, do conspire the death of any of the king's council or lord of the realm, it is made capital. This law was thought to be procured by the Lord Chancellor, who being a stern and haughty man, and finding he had some mortal enemies in court, provided for his own safety; drowning the envy of it in a general law, by communicating the privilege with all other counsellors and peers, and yet not daring to extend it further than to the king's servants in check-roll, lest it should have been too harsh to the gentlemen and other commons of the kingdom, who might have thought their ancient liberty, and the clemency of the laws of England invaded, if the will in any case of felony should be made the deed. And yet the reason which the act yieldeth, that is to say, that he that conspireth the death of counsellors may be thought indirectly, and by a mean, to conspire the death of the king himself, is indifferent to all subjects, as well as to servants in court. But it seemeth this sufficed to serve the Lord Chancellor's turn at this time. But yet he lived to need a general law, for that he grew afterwards as odious to the country as he was then to the court.

From the peace of the king's house, the king's care extended to the peace of private houses and

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families. For there was an excellent moral law moulded thus; the taking and carrying away of women forcibly and against their will, except female-wards and bond-women, was made capital. The parliament wisely and justly conceiving that the obtaining of women by force into possession, howsoever afterwards assent might follow by allurements, was but a rape drawn forth in length, because the first force drew on all the rest.

There was made also another law for peace in general, and repressing of murders and man-slaughters, and was in amendment of the common laws of the realm, being this: That whereas by the common law the king's suit, in case of homicide, did expect the year and the day, allowed to the party's suit by way of appeal; and that it was found by experience, that the party was many times compounded with, and many times wearied with the suit, so that in the end such suit was let fall, and by that time the matter was in a manner forgotten, and thereby prosecution at the king's suit by indictment, which is ever best, "flagrante crimine," neglected; it was ordained, that the suit by indictment might be taken as well at any time within the year and the day as after; not prejudicing nevertheless the party's suit.

The king began also then, as well in wisdom as in justice, to pare a little the privilege of clergy, ordaining that clerks convict should be burned in the hand, both because they might taste of some corporal punishment, and that they might carry a

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brand of infamy. But for this good act's sake the king himself was after branded, by Perkins' proclamation, for an execrable breaker of the rites of holy church.

Another law was made for the better peace of the country; by which law the king's officers and farmers were to forfeit their places and holds in case of unlawful retainer, or partaking in routs and unlawful assemblies.

These were the laws that were made for repressing of force, which those times did chiefly require; and were so prudently framed, as they are found fit for all succeeding times, and so continue to this day.

There were also made good and politic laws that parliament, against usury, which is the bastard use of money; and against unlawful chievances and exchanges, which is bastard usury; and also for the security of the king's customs; and for the employment of the procedures of foreign commodities, brought in by merchant strangers, upon the native commodities of the realm; together with some other laws of less importance.

But howsoever the laws made in that parliament did bear good and wholesome fruit; yet the subsidy granted at the same time bare a fruit that proved harsh and bitter. All was inned at last into the king's barn, but it was after a storm. For when the commissioners entered into the taxation of the subsidy in Yorkshire, and the bishoprick of Duresme; the people upon a sudden grew into great mutiny, and said openly, That they had endured of late years a thousand miseries, and neither could nor

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would pay the subsidy. This, no doubt, proceeded not simply of any present necessity, but much by reason of the old humour of those countries, where the memory of King Richard was so strong, that it lay like lees in the bottom of men's hearts; and if the vessel was but stirred it would come up. And, no doubt, it was partly also by the instigation of some factious malcontents, that bare principal stroke amongst them. Hereupon the commissioners being somewhat astonished, deferred the matter unto the Earl of Northumberland, who was the principal man of authority in those parts. The earl forthwith wrote unto the court, signifying to the king plainly enough in what flame he found the people of those countries, and praying the king's direction. The king wrote back peremptorily, that he would not have one penny abated of that which had been granted to him by parliament; both because it might encourage other countries to pray the like release or mitigation; and chiefly because he would never endure that the base multitude should frustrate the authority of the parliament, wherein their votes and consents were concluded. Upon this dispatch from court, the earl assembled the principal justices and freeholders of the country; and speaking to them in that imperious language, wherein the king had written to him, which needed not, save that an harsh business was unfortunately fallen into the hands of a harsh man, did not only irritate the people, but make them conceive, by the stoutness and haughtiness of delivery of the king's errand, that himself was the author or principal persuader of that

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counsel; whereupon the meaner sort routed together, and suddenly assailing the earl in his house, slew him, and divers of his servants: and rested not there, but creating for their leader Sir John Egremont, a factious person, and one that had of a long time born an ill talent towards the king: and being animated also by a base fellow, called John a Chamber, a very "boutefeu," who bare much sway amongst the vulgar and popular, entered into open rebellion; and gave out in flat terms that they would go against King Henry, and fight with him for the maintenance of their liberties.

When the king was advertised of this new insurrection, being almost a fever that took him every year, after his manner little troubled therewith, he sent Thomas, Earl of Surrey, whom he had a little before not only released out of the Tower, and pardoned, but also received to special favour, with a competent power against the rebels, who fought with the principal band of them, and defeated them, and took alive John a Chamber their firebrand. As for Sir John Egremont, he fled into Flanders to the Lady Margaret of Burgundy, whose palace was the sanctuary and receptacle of all traitors against the king. John a Chamber was executed at York in great state; for he was hanged upon a gibbet raised a stage higher in the midst of a square gallows, as a traitor paramount; and a number of his men that were his chief complices, were hanged upon the lower story round about him; and the rest were generally pardoned. Neither did the king himself omit his

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custom, to be first or second in all his warlike exploits, making good his word, which was usual with him when he heard of rebels, that he desired but to see them. For immediately after he had sent down the Earl of Surrey, he marched towards them himself in person. And although in his journey he heard news of the victory, yet he went on as far as York, to pacify and settle those countries; and that done, returned to London, leaving the Earl of Surrey for his lieutenant in the northern parts, and Sir Richard Tunstal for his principal commissioner, to levy the subsidy, whereof he did not remit a denier.

About the same time that the king lost so good a servant as the Earl of Northumberland, he lost likewise a faithful friend and ally of James the Third, King of Scotland, by a miserable disaster. For this unfortunate prince, after a long smother of discontent, and hatred of many of his nobility and people, breaking forth at times into seditions and alterations of court, was at last distressed by them, having taken arms, and surprised the person of Prince James, his son, partly by force, partly by threats, that they would otherwise deliver up the kingdom to the King of England, to shadow their rebellion, and to be the titular and painted head of those arms. Whereupon the king, finding himself too weak, sought unto King Henry, as also unto the Pope, and the King of France, to compose those troubles between him and his subjects. The kings accordingly interposed their mediation in a round and princely manner; not only by way of request and persuasion, but also by way

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of protestation and menace; declaring, that they they thought it to be the common cause of all kings, if subjects should be suffered to give laws unto their sovereign, and that they would accordingly resent it and revenge it. But the rebels, that had shaken off the greater yoke of obedience, had likewise cast away the lesser tie of respect. And fury prevailing above fear, made answer: That there was no talking of peace except the king would resign his crown. Whereupon, treaty of accord taking no place, it came to a battle at Bannocksbourn by Strivelin: in which battle the king, transported with wrath and just indignation, inconsiderately fighting and precipitating the charge, before his whole numbers came up to him, was, notwithstanding the contrary express and strait commandment of the prince, his son, slain in the pursuit, being fled to a mill, situate in a field, where the battle was fought.

As for the Pope's embassy, which was sent by Adrian de Castello, an Italian legate, and perhaps as those times were, might have prevailed more, it came too late for the embassy, but not for the ambassador. For passing through England, and being honourably entertained, and received of King Henry, who ever applied himself with much respect to the See of Rome, he fell into great grace with the king, and great familiarity and friendship with Morton the Chancellor; insomuch as the king taking a liking to him, and finding him to his mind, preferred him to the Bishoprick of Hereford, and afterwards to that of Bath and Wells, and employed him in many of his

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affairs of state that had relation to Rome. He was a man of great learning, wisdom, and dexterity in business of state; and having not long after ascended to the degree of cardinal, paid the king large tribute of his gratitude, in diligent and judicious advertisement of the occurrents of Italy. Nevertheless, in the end of his time, he was partaker of the conspiracy which Cardinal Alphonso Petrucci and some other cardinals had plotted against the life of Pope Leo. And this offence, in itself so heinous, was yet in him aggravated by the motive thereof, which was not malice or discontent, but an aspiring mind to the papacy. And in this height of impiety there wanted not an intermixture of levity and folly; for that, as was generally believed, he was animated to expect the papacy by a fatal mockery, the prediction of a soothsayer, which was, "That one should succeed "Pope Leo whose name should be Adrian, an aged "man of mean birth, and of great learning and wis-"dom." By which character and figure he took himself to be described, though it were fulfilled of Adrian the Fleming, son of a Dutch brewer, Cardinal of Tortosa, and preceptor unto Charles the Fifth; the same that, not changing his Christian name, was afterwards called Adrian the Sixth.

But these things happened in the year following, which was the fifth of this king. But in the end of the fourth year the king had called again his parliament, not, as it seemeth, for any particular occasion of state: but the former parliament being ended somewhat snddenly, in regard of the preparation for

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Britain, the king thought he had not remunerated his people sufficiently with good laws, which evermore was his retribution for treasure. And finding by the insurrection in the north there was discontentment abroad, in respect of the subsidy, he thought it good to give his subjects yet further contentment and comfort in that kind. Certainly his times for good commonwealth's laws did excel. So as he may justly be celebrated for the best lawgiver to this nation, after King Edward the First; for his laws, whoso marks them well, are deep, and not vulgar; not made upon the spur of a particular occasion for the present, but out of providence of the future, to make the estate of his people still more and more happy; after the manner of the legislators in ancient and heroical times.

First therefore, he made a law suitable to his own acts and times: for as himself had in his person and marriage made a final concord in the great suit and title for the crown, so by this law he settled the like peace and quiet in the private possessions of the subjects: ordaining, "That fines thenceforth should be "final, to conclude all strangers' rights;" and that upon fines levied, and solemnly proclaimed, the subject should have his time of watch for five years after his title accrued, which if he forepassed, his right should be bound for ever after; with some exception nevertheless of minors, married women, and such incompetent persons.

This statute did in effect but restore an ancient statute of the realm, which was itself also made but

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in affirmance of the common law. The alteration had been by a statute, commonly called the statute of "non-claim," made in the time of Edward the Third. And surely this law was a kind of prognostic of the good peace, which since his time hath, for the most part, continued in this kingdom until this day: for statutes of "non-claim" are fit for times of war, when men's heads are troubled that they cannot intend their estate; but statutes that quiet possessions, are fittest for times of peace, to extinguish suits and contentions, which is one of the banes of peace.

Another statute was made, of singular policy, for the population, apparently, and, if it be thoroughly considered, for the soldiery and military forces of the realm.

Inclosures at that time began to be more frequent, whereby arable land, which could not be manured without people and families, was turned into pasture, which was easily rid by a few herdsmen; and tenances for years, lives, and at will, whereupon much of the yeomanry lived, were turned into demesnes. This bred a decay of people, and, by consequence, a decay of towns, churches, tithes, and the like. The king likewise knew full well, and in no wise forgot, that there ensued withal upon this a decay and diminution of subsidies and taxes; for the more gentlemen, ever the lower books of subsidies. In remedying of this inconvenience the king's wisdom was admirable, and the parliament's at that time. Inclosures they would not forbid, for that had been to forbid the improvement of the patrimony of the kingdom; nor

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tillage they would not compel, for that was to strive with nature and utility: but they took a course to take away depopulating inclosures and depopulating pasturage, and yet not by that name, or by any imperious express prohibition, but by consequence. The ordinance was, "That all houses of husbandry, "that were used with twenty acres of ground and "upwards, should be maintained and kept up for "ever; together with a competent proportion of "land to be used and occupied with them;" and in no wise to be severed from them, as by another statute, made afterwards in his successor's time, was more fully declared: this upon forfeiture to be taken, not by way of popular action, but by seizure of the land itself by the king and lords of the fee, as to half the profits, till the houses and lands were restored. By this means the houses being kept up, did of necessity enforce a dweller; and the proportion of land for occupation being kept up, did of necessity enforce that dweller not to be a beggar or cottager, but a man of some substance, that might keep hinds and servants, and set the plough on going. This did wonderfully concern the might and mannerhood of the kingdom, to have farms as it were of a standard, sufficient to maintain an able body out of penury, and did in effect amortise a great part of the lands of the kingdom unto the hold and occupation of the yeomanry or middle people, of a condition between gentlemen and cottagers or peasants. Now, how much this did advance the military power of the kingdom is apparent by the true principles of war and the examples of other kingdoms. For it hath

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been held by the general opinion of men of best judgement in the wars, howsoever some few have varied, and that it may receive some distinction of case, that the principal strength of an army consisteth in the infantry or foot. And to make good infantry, it requireth men bred, not in a servile or indigent fashion, but in some free and plentiful manner. Therefore if a state run most to noblemen and gentlemen, and that the husbandmen and ploughmen be but as their workfolks and labourers, or else mere cottagers, which are but housed beggars, you may have a good cavalry but never good stable bands of foot; like to coppice woods, that if you leave in them staddles too thick, they will run to bushes and briars, and have little clean underwood. And this is to be seen in France and Italy, and some other parts abroad, where in effect all is noblesse or peasantry. I speak of people out of towns, and no middle people, and therefore no good forces of foot; insomuch as they are enforced to employ mercenary bands of Switzers, and the like, for their battalions of foot. Whereby also it comes to pass, that those nations have much people and few soldiers. Whereas the king saw, that contrariwise it would follow, that England, though much less in territory, yet would have infinitely more soldiers of their native forces than those other nations have. Thus did the king secretly sow Hydra's teeth; whereupon, according to the poet's fiction, should rise up armed men for the service of this kingdom.

The king also, having care to make his realm potent, as well by sea as by land, for the better

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maintenance of the navy, ordained; "That wines "and woods from the parts of Gascoign and Lan- "guedoc, should not be brought but in English "bottoms;" bowing the ancient policy of this estate, from consideration of plenty to consideration of power. For that almost all the ancient statutes incite by all means merchant-strangers, to bring in all sorts of commodities; having for end cheapness, and not looking to the point of state concerning the naval power.

The king also made a statute in that parliament, monitory and minatory towards justices of peace, that they should duly execute their office, inviting complaints against them, first to their fellow-justices, then to the justices of assize, then to the king or chancellor, that a proclamation which he had published of that tenor, should be read in open sessions four times a year to keep them awake. Meaning also to have his laws executed, and thereby to reap either obedience or forfeitures, wherein towards his latter times he did decline too much to the left hand, he did ordain remedy against the practice that was grown in use, to stop and damp informations upon penal laws, by procuring informations by collusion, to be put in by the confederates of the delinquents, to be faintly prosecuted, and let fall at pleasure; and pleading them in bar of the informations, which were prosecuted with effect.

He made also laws for the correction of the mint, and counterfeiting of foreign coin current. And

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that no payment in gold should be made to any merchant-stranger, the better to keep treasure within the realm, for that gold was the metal that lay in least room.

He made also statutes for the maintenance of drapery, and the keeping of wools within the realm; and not only so, but for stinting and limiting the prices of cloth, one for the finer, and another for the coarser sort. Which I note, both because it was a rare thing to set prices by statute, especially upon our home commodities; and because of the wise model of this act, not prescribing prices, but stinting them not to exceed a rate; that the clothier might drape accordingly as he might afford.

Divers other good statutes were made that parliament, but these were the principal. And here I do desire those into whose hands this work shall fall, that they do take in good part my long insisting upon the laws that were made in this king's reign. Whereof I have these reasons; both because it was the pre-eminent virtue and merit of this king, to whose memory I do honour; and because it hath some correspondence to my person; but chiefly because, in my judgement, it is some defect even in the best writers of history, that they do not often enough summarily deliver and set down the most memorable laws that passed in the times whereof they writ, being indeed the principal acts of peace. For though they may be had in original books of law themselves; yet that informeth not the judgement of

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kings and counsellors, and persons of estate, so well as to see them described, and entered in the table and pourtrait of the times.

About the same time the king had a loan from the city of four thousand pounds; which was double to that they lent before, and was duly and orderly paid back at the day, as the former likewise had been; the king ever choosing rather to borrow too soon than to pay too late, and so keeping up his credit.

Neither had the king yet cast off his cares and hopes touching Britain, but thought to master the occasion by policy, though his arms had been unfortunate; and to bereave the French king of the fruit of his victory. The sum of his design was, to encourage Maximilian to go on with his suit, for the marriage of Anne, the heir of Britain, and to aid him to the consummation thereof. But the affairs of Maximilian were at that time in great trouble and combustion, by a rebellion of his subjects in Flanders; especially those of Bruges and Gaunt, whereof the town of Bruges, at such time as Maximilian was there in person, had suddenly armed in tumult, and slain some of his principal officers, and taken himself prisoner, and held him in durance till they had enforced him and some of his counsellors to take a solemn oath to pardon all their offences, and never to question and revenge the same in time to come. Nevertheless Frederick the emperor would not suffer this reproach and indignity offered to his son to pass, but made sharp wars upon Flanders to reclaim and chastise the rebels. But the Lord Ravenstein, a

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principal person about Maximilian, and one that had taken the oath of abolition with his master, pretending the religion thereof, but indeed upon private ambition, and, as it was thought, instigated and corrupted from France, forsook the emperor and Maximilian his lord, and made himself an head of the popular party, and seized upon the towns of Ipres and Sluice with both the castles: and forthwith sent to the Lord Cordes, governor of Picardy under the French king, to desire aid; and to move him, that he, on the behalf of the French king, would be protector of the United Towns, and by force of arms reduce the rest. The Lord Cordes was ready to embrace the occasion, which was partly of his own setting, and sent forthwith greater forces than it had been possible for him to raise on the sudden, if he had not looked for such a summons before, in aid of the Lord Ravenstein and the Flemings, with instructions to invest the towns between France and Bruges. The French forces besieged a little town called Dixmude, where part of the Flemish forces joined with them. While they lay at this siege, the King of England, upon pretence of the safety of the English pale about Calais, but in truth being loth that Maximilian should become contemptible, and thereby be shaken off by the states of Britain about this marriage, sent over the Lord Morley with a thousand men, unto the Lord D'Aubigny, then deputy of Calais, with secret instructions to aid Maximilian, and to raise the siege of Dixmude. The Lord D'Aubigny, giving it out that all was for the strength-

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ening of the English marches, drew out of the garrisons of Calais, Hammes, and Guines, to the number of a thousand men more. So that with the fresh succours that came under the conduct of the Lord Morley, they made up to the number of two thousand or better. Which forces joining with some companies of Almains, put themselves into Dixmude, not perceived by the enemies; and passing through the town with some reinforcement, from the forces that were in the town, assailed the enemies camp negligently guarded, as being out of fear; where there was a bloody fight, in which the English and their partakers obtained the victory, and slew to the number of eight thousand men, with the loss on the English part of a hundred or thereabouts; amongst whom was the Lord Morley. They took also their great ordnance, with much rich spoils, which they carried to Newport; whence the Lord D'Aubigny returned to Calais, leaving the hurt men and some other voluntaries in Newport. But the Lord Cordes being at Ipres with a great power of men, thinking to recover the loss and disgrace of the fight at Dixmude, came presently on, and sat down before Newport, and besieged it; and after some days siege, he resolved to try the fortune of an assault. Which he did one day, and succeeded therein so far, that he had taken the principal tower and fort in that city, and planted upon it the French banner. Whence nevertheless they were presently beaten forth by the English, by the help of some fresh succours of archers, arriving by good fortune, at the instant, in the haven

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of Newport. Whereupon the Lord Cordes, discouraged, and measuring the new succours, which were small, by the success, which was great, levied his siege. By this means matters grew more exasperate between the two kings of England and France, for that, in the war of Flanders, the auxiliary forces of French and English were much blooded one against another. Which blood rankled the more, by the vain words of the Lord Cordes, that declared himself an open enemy of the English, beyond that that appertained to the present service; making it a common by-word of his, "That he could be content "to lie in hell seven years, so he might win Calais "from the English."

The king having thus upheld the reputation of Maximilian, advised him now to press on his marriage with Britain to a conclusion. Which Maximilian accordingly did, and so far forth prevailed, both with the young lady and with the principal persons about her, as the marriage was consummated by proxy, with a ceremony at that time in these parts new. For she was not only publicly contracted, but stated, as a bride, and solemnly bedded; and after she was laid, there came in Maximilian's ambassador with letters of procuration, and in the presence of sundry noble personages, men and women, put his leg, stript naked to the knee, between the espousal sheets; to the end, that that ceremony might be thought to amount to a consummation and actual knowledge. This done, Maximilian, whose property was to leave things then when they were

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almost come to perfection, and [illegible] gination; like ill [illegible] up to the head: and [illegible] the lady himself, [illegible] of it, thinking now [illegible] his further proceeding, [illegible] while the French [illegible] and finding that [illegible] rather an invention [illegible] the laws of the [illegible] and by secret [illegible] well mistress [illegible] first sought [illegible] nour out of the [illegible] there was a [illegible] only contracted [illegible] daughter was [illegible] So as the marriage [illegible] not clear in either [illegible] King Charles [illegible] that Maximilian [illegible] sent, and as [illegible] agreement set [illegible] made by Maximilian [illegible] harder terms, having [illegible] it was done [illegible] lord King Charles, whose ward and client she was, and he in her in place of a father: and therefore it was void and of no force for want of such consent. Which defect, they said, though it would not overthrow a marriage after cohabitation and actual con-

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summation, yet it was enough to make void a contract. For as for the pretended consummation, they made sport with it and said, "That was an argu-"ment that Maximilian was a widower, and a cold "wooer, that could content himself to be a bride-"groom by deputy, and would not make a little "journey to put all out of question." So that the young lady, wrought upon by these reasons, finely instilled by such as the French king, who spared for no rewards or promises, had made on his side; and allured likewise by the present glory and greatness of King Charles, being also a young king and a bachelor, and loth to make her country the seat of a long and miserable war, secretly yielded to accept of King Charles. But during this secret treaty with the lady, the better to save it from blasts of opposition and interruption, King Charles resorting to his wonted arts, and thinking to carry the marriage as he had carried the wars, by entertaining the King of England in vain belief, sent a solemn ambassage by Francis Lord of Luxemburg, Charles Marignian, and Robert Gagvien, general of the order of the "Bons "Hommes" of the Trinity, to treat a peace and league with the king, accoupling it with an article in the nature of a request, that the French king might with the king's good will, according unto his right of seigniory and tutelage, dispose of the marriage of the young Duchess of Britain as he should think good; offering by a judicial proceeding to make void the marriage of Maximilian by proxy. Also all this while, the better to amuse the world, he did continue

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in his court and custody the daughter of Maximilian, who formerly had been sent unto him to be bred and educated in France; not dismissing or renvoying her, but contrariwise professing and giving out strongly that he meant to proceed with that match. And that for the Duchess of Britain, he desired only to preserve his right of seigniory, and to give her in marriage to some such ally as might depend upon him.

When the three commissioners came to the court of England, they delivered their ambassage unto the king, who remitted them to his council; where some days after they had audience, and made their proposition by the Prior of the Trinity, who though he were third in place, yet was held the best speaker of them, to this effect.

"My lords, the king our master, the greatest "and mightiest king that reigned in France since "Charles the Great, whose name he beareth, hath "nevertheless thought it no disparagement to his "greatness at this time to propound a peace; yea, "and to pray a peace with the King of England. "For which purpose he hath sent us his commis- "sioners, instructed and enabled with full and ample "power to treat and conclude; giving us further in "charge, to open in some other business the secrets "of his own intentions. These be indeed the pre- "cious love-tokens between great kings, to commu- "nicate one with another the true state of their "affairs, and to pass by nice points of honour, which "ought not to give law unto affection. This I do

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" assure your lordships; it is not possible for you to " imagine the true and cordial love that the king " our master beareth to your sovereign, except you " were near him as we are. He useth his name with " so great respect; he remembereth their first ac- " quaintance at Paris with so great contentment; " nay, he never speaks of him, but that presently he " falls into discourse of the miseries of great kings, " in that they cannot converse with their equals but " with servants. This affection to your king's person " and virtues God hath put into the heart of our " master, no doubt for the good of Christendom, " and for purposes yet unknown to us all. For " other root it cannot have, since it was the same to " the Earl of Richmond, that it is now to the King of " England. This is therefore the first motive " that makes our king to desire peace and league " with your sovereign: good affection, and some- " what that he finds in his own heart. This affec- " tion is also armed with reason of estate. For our " king doth in all candour and frankness of dealing " open himself unto you; that having an honourable, " yea, and an holy purpose, to make a voyage and " war in remote parts, he considereth that it will be " of no small effect, in point of reputation to his en- " terprise, if it be known abroad that he is in good " peace with all his neighbour princes, and especially " with the King of England, whom for good causes " he esteemeth most.

" But now, my lords, give me leave to use a few " words to remove all scruples and misunderstand-

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" ings between your sovereign and ours, concerning " some late actions; which if they be not cleared, " may perhaps hinder this peace. To the end that " for matters past neither king may conceive unkind- " ness of other, nor think the other conceiveth un- " kindness of him. The late actions are two; that " of Britain, and that of Flanders. In both which " it is true that the subjects' swords of both kings " have encountered and stricken, and the ways and " inclinations also of the two kings, in respect of their " confederates and allies, have severed.

" For that of Britain, the king your sovereign " knoweth best what hath passed. It was a war of " necessity on our master's part. And though the " motives of it were sharp and piquant as could be, " yet did he make that war rather with an olive- " branch, than a laurel-branch in his hand, more " desiring peace than victory. Besides, from time " to time he sent, as it were, blank papers to your " king to write the conditions of peace. For though " both his honour and safety went upon it, yet he " thought neither of them too precious to put " into the King of England's hands. Neither doth " our king on the other side make any unfriendly " interpretation of your king's sending of succours " to the duke of Britain; for the king knoweth well " that many things must be done of kings for satis- " faction of their people; and it is not hard to dis- " cern what is a king's own. But this matter " of Britain is now, by the act of God, ended and " passed; and, as the king hopeth, like the way of a

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" ship in the sea, without leaving any impression in " either of the kings' minds; as he is sure for his part " it hath not done in his.

" For the action of Flanders: as the former of " Britain was a war of necessity, so this was a war of " justice; which with a good king is of equal neces- " sity with danger of estate, for else he should leave " to be a king. The subjects of Burgundy are sub- " jects in chief to the crown of France, and their " duke the homager and vassal of France. They " had wont to be good subjects, howsoever Maxi- " milian hath of late distempered them. They fled " to the king for justice and deliverance from op- " pression. Justice he could not deny; purchase he " did not seek. This was good for Maximilian, if " he could have seen it in people mutinied, to arrest " fury, and prevent despair. My lords, it may be " this I have said is needless, save that the king our " master is tender in any thing that may glance upon " the friendship of England. The amity between " the two kings, no doubt, stands entire and invio- " late; and that their subjects' swords have clashed, " it is nothing unto the public peace of the crowns; " it being a thing very usual in auxiliary forces of the " best and straitest confederates to meet and draw " blood in the field. Nay many times there be aids of " the same nation on both sides, and yet it is not, " for all that, a kingdom divided in itself.

" It resteth, my lords, that I impart unto you a " matter that I know your lordships all will much " rejoice to hear; as that which importeth the

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" Christian common weal more than any action that
" hath happened of long time. The king our master
" hath a purpose and determination to make war
" upon the kingdom of Naples; being now in the
" possession of a bastard slip of Arragon, but apper-
" taining unto his Majesty by clear and undoubted
" right; which if he should not by just arms seek to
" recover, he could neither acquit his honour nor
" answer it to his people. But his noble and
" Christian thoughts rest not here: for his resolu-
" tion and hope is, to make the reconquest of Naples,
" but as a bridge to transport his forces into Grecia;
" and not to spare blood or treasure, if it were to
" the impawning of his crown and dispeopling of
" France, till either he hath overthrown the empire
" of the Ottomans, or taken it in his way to Paradise.
" The king knoweth well, that this is a design that
" could not arise in the mind of any king that did
" not steadfastly look up unto God, whose quarrel
" this is, and from whom cometh both the will and
" the deed. But yet it is agreeable to the person
" that he beareth, though unworthy of the thrice
" Christian King and the eldest son of the church.
" Whereunto he is also invited by the example, in
" more ancient time, of King Henry the Fourth of
" England, the first renowned king of the house of
" Lancaster; ancestor, though not progenitor to
" your king; who had a purpose towards the end of
" his time, as you know better, to make an expedi-
" tion into the Holy Land; and by the example also,
" present before his eyes, of that honourable and

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" religious war which the King of Spain now maketh,
" and hath almost brought to perfection, for the re-
" covery of the realm of Granada from the Moors.
" And although this enterprise may seem vast and
" unmeasured, for the king to attempt that by his
" own forces, wherein heretofore a conjunction of
" most of the Christian princes hath found work
" enough; yet his Majesty wisely considereth, that
" sometimes smaller forces being united under one
" command, are more effectual in proof, though not so
" promising in opinion and fame, than much greater
" forces, variously compounded by associations and
" leagues, which commonly in a short time after
" their beginnings turn to dissociations and divisions.
" But, my lords, that which is as a voice from heaven,
" that calleth the king to this enterprise, is a rent at
" this time in the house of the Ottomans. I do not
" say but there hath been brother against brother in
" that house before, but never any that had refuge
" to the arms of the Christians, as now hath Gemes,
" brother unto Bajazet that reigneth, the far braver
" man of the two, the other being a monk and a phi-
" losopher, and better read in the Alcoran and
" Averroes, than able to wield the sceptre of so war-
" like an empire. This therefore is the king our
" master's memorable and heroical resolution for an
" holy war. And because he carrieth in this the
" person of a Christian soldier, as well as of a great
" temporal monarch, he beginneth with humility,
" and is content for this cause to beg peace at the
" hands of other Christian kings. There remaineth

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" only rather a civil request than any essential part " of our negociation, which the king maketh to the " king your sovereign. The king, as all the world " knoweth, is lord in chief of the Duchy of Britain. " The marriage of the heir belongeth to him as " guardian. This is a private patrimonial right, and " no business of estate: yet nevertheless, to run a " fair course with your king, whom he desires to " make another himself, and to be one and the same " thing with him, his request is, that with the king's " favour and consent he may dispose of her mar- " riage, as he thinketh good, and make void the in- " truded and pretended marriage of Maximilian, " according to justice. This, my lords, is all that I " have to say, desiring your pardon for my weak- " ness in the delivery."

Thus did the French ambassadors with great shew of their king's affection, and many sugared words, seek to addulce all matters between the two kings, having two things for their ends; the one to keep the king quiet till the marriage of Britain was past; and this was but a summer fruit, which they thought was almost ripe, and would be soon gathered. The other was more lasting; and that was to put him into such a temper as he might be no disturbance or impediment to the voyage for Italy. The lords of the council were silent; and said only, " That they knew the ambassadors would look for " no answer, till they had reported to the king;" and so they rose from council. The king could not well tell what to think of the marriage of Britain.

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He saw plainly the ambition of the French king was to impatronise himself of the duchy; but he wondered he would bring into his house a litigious marriage, especially considering who was his successor. But weighing one thing with another he gave Britain for lost; but resolved to make his profit of this business of Britain, as a quarrel for war; and that of Naples, as a wrench and mean for peace; being well advertised, how strongly the king was bent upon that action. Having therefore conferred divers times with his council, and keeping himself somewhat close, he gave a direction to the chancellor, for a formal answer to the ambassadors, and that he did in the presence of his council. And after calling the chancellor to him apart, bad him speak in such language as was fit for a treaty that was to end in a breach; and gave him also a special caveat, that he should not use any words to discourage the voyage of Italy. Soon after the ambassadors were sent for to the council, and the lord chancellor spake to them in this sort:

"My lords ambassadors, I shall make answer, by "the king's commandment, unto the eloquent de- "claration of you, my lord prior, in a brief and plain "manner. The king forgetteth not his former love "and acquaintance with the king your master; but "of this there needeth no repetition. For if it be "between them as it was, it is well; if there be any "alteration, it is not words that will make it up.

"For the business of Britain, the king findeth it "a little strange that the French king maketh men-

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" tion of it as matter of well deserving at his hand:
" for that deserving was no more but to make him
" his instrument to surprise one of his best confede-
" rates. And for the marriage, the king would not
" meddle in it, if your master would marry by the
" book, and not by the sword.

" For that of Flanders, if the subjects of Bur-
" gundy had appealed to your king as their chief
" lord, at first by way of supplication, it might have
" had a shew of justice: but it was a new form of
" process, for subjects to imprison their prince first,
" and to slay his officers, and then to be complain-
" ants. The king saith, That sure he is, when the
" French king and himself sent to the subjects of
" Scotland, that had taken arms against their king,
" they both spake in another style, and did in princely
" manner signify their detestation of popular atten-
" tates upon the person or authority of princes.
" But, my lords ambassadors, the king leaveth these
" two actions thus: that on the one side he hath not
" received any manner of satisfaction from you con-
" cerning them; and on the other, that he doth not
" apprehend them so deeply, as in respect of them
" to refuse to treat of peace, if other things may go
" hand in hand. As for the war of Naples, and the
" design against the Turk: the king hath commanded
" me expressly to say, that he doth wish with all his
" heart to his good brother the French king, that his
" fortunes may succeed according to his hopes and
" honourable intentions. And whensoever he shall
" hear that he is prepared for Grecia, as your master

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" is pleased now to say that he beggeth a peace of the " king, so the king will then beg of him a part in " that war.

" But now, my lords ambassadors, I am to pro- " pound unto you somewhat on the king's part: the " king your master hath taught our king what to " say and demand. You say, my lord prior, that " your king is resolved to recover his right to Na- " ples, wrongfully detained from him. And that if " he should not thus do, he could not acquit his " honour, nor answer it to his people. Think, my " lords, that the king our master saith the same " thing over again to you touching Normandy, " Guienne, Anjou, yea, and the kingdom of France " itself. I cannot express it better than in your " own words: If therefore the French king shall " consent, that the king our master's title to France, " at least tribute for the same, be handled in the " treaty, the king is content to go on with the rest, " otherwise he refuseth to treat."

The ambassadors, being somewhat abashed with this demand, answered in some heat: That they doubted not, but the king their sovereign's sword would be able to maintain his sceptre: and they assured themselves, he neither could nor would yield to any diminution of the crown of France either in territory or regality: but, howsoever, they were too great matters for them to speak of, having no commission. It was replied, that the king looked for no other answer from them, but would forthwith send his own ambassadors to the French king. There

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was a question also asked at the table; whether the French king would agree to have the disposing of the marriage of Britain with an exception and exclusion that he should not marry her himself? To which the ambassadors answered: That it was so far out of their king's thoughts, as they had received no instructions touching the same. Thus were the ambassadors dismissed, all save the prior; and were followed immediately by Thomas, Earl of Ormond, and Thomas Goldenston, Prior of Christ Church in Canterbury, who were presently sent over into France. In the mean space Lionel, Bishop of Concordia, was sent as nuncio from Pope Alexander the Sixth to both kings, to move a peace between them. For Pope Alexander, finding himself pent and locked up by a league and association of the principal states of Italy, that he could not make his way for the advancement of his own house, which he immoderately thirsted after, was desirous to trouble the waters in Italy, that he might fish the better; casting the net not out of St. Peter's, but out of Borgia's bark. And doubting lest the fears from England might stay the French king's voyage into Italy, dispatched this bishop to compose all matters between the two kings if he could: who first repaired to the French king, and finding him well inclined, as he conceived, took on his journey towards England, and found the English ambassadors at Calais, on their way towards the French king. After some conference with them, he was in honourable manner transported over into England, where

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he had audience of the king. But notwithstanding he had a good ominous name to have made a peace, nothing followed: for in the mean time the purpose of the French king to marry the duchess could be no longer dissembled. Wherefore the English ambassadors finding how things went, took their leave, and returned. And the prior also was warned from hence to depart out of England. Who when he turned his back, more like a pedant than an ambassador, dispersed a bitter libel, in Latin verse, against the king; unto which the king, though he had nothing of a pedant, yet was content to cause an answer to be made in like verse; and that as speaking in his own person, but in a style of scorn and sport. About this time also was born the king's second son Henry, who afterward reigned. And soon after followed the solemnization of the marriage between Charles, and Anne, Duchess of Britain, with whom he received the Duchy of Britain as her dowry, the daughter of Maximilian being a little before sent home. Which when it came to the ears of Maximilian, who would never believe it till it was done, being ever the principal in deceiving himself, though in this the French king did very handsomely second it, and tumbling it over and over in his thoughts, that he should at one blow with such a double scorn, be defeated, both of the marriage of his daughter and his own, upon both which he had fixed high imaginations, he lost all patience, and casting off the respects fit to be continued between great kings, even when their blood is hottest, and most

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risen, fell to bitter invectives against the person and actions of the French king. And, by how much he was the less able to do, talking so much the more, spake all the injuries he could devise of Charles, saying: That he was the most perfidious man upon the earth, and that he had made a marriage compounded between an advowtry and a rape; which was done, he said, by the just judgement of God; to the end that, the nullity thereof being so apparent to all the world, the race of so unworthy a person might not reign in France. And forthwith he sent ambassadors as well to the King of England as to the King of Spain, to incite them to war, and to treat a league offensive against France, promising to concur with great forces of his own. Hereupon the King of England, going nevertheless his own way, called a parliament, it being the seventh year of his reign; and the first day of opening thereof, sitting under his cloth of estate, spake himself unto his lords and commons in this manner:

"My lords, and you the commons, when I pur-
"posed to make a war in Britain by my lieutenant,
"I made declaration thereof to you by my chan-
"cellor. But now that I mean to make a war upon
"France in person, I will declare it to you myself.
"That war was to defend another man's right, but
"this is to recover our own; and that ended by
"accident, but we hope this shall end in victory.

"The French king troubles the Christian world:
"that which he hath is not his own, and yet he
"seeketh more. He hath invested himself of Bri-
"tain: he maintaineth the rebels in Flanders: and he

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" threateneth Italy. For ourselves, he hath pro-
" ceeded from dissimulation to neglect; and from
" neglect to contumely. He hath assailed our con-
" federates; he denieth our tribute: in a word, he
" seeks war: so did not his father, but sought peace
" at our hands; and so perhaps will he, when good
" counsel or time shall make him see as much as his
" father did.

" Mean while, let us make his ambition our ad-
" vantage; and let us not stand upon a few crowns
" of tribute or acknowledgement, but, by the favour
" of Almighty God, try our right for the crown of
" France itself; remembering that there hath been
" a French king prisoner in England, and a King of
" England crowned in France. Our confederates are
" not diminished. Burgundy is in a mightier hand
" than ever, and never more provoked. Britain can-
" not help us, but it may hurt them. New acquests
" are more burden than strength. The malcontents
" of his own kingdom have not been base, popular,
" nor titulary impostors, but of an higher nature.
" The King of Spain, doubt ye not, will join with us,
" not knowing where the French king's ambition will
" stay. Our holy father the pope likes no Tramon-
" tanes in Italy. But howsoever it be, this matter
" of confederates is rather to be thought on than
" reckoned on. For God forbid but England should
" be able to get reason of France without a second.

" At the battles of Cressy, Poictiers, Agincourt,
" we were of ourselves. France hath much people,
" and few soldiers. They have no stable bands of
" foot. Some good horse they have; but those are

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" forces which are least fit for a defensive war, where " the actions are in the assailant's choice. It was " our discords only that lost France; and, by the " power of God, it is the good peace which we now " enjoy, that will recover it. God hath hitherto " blessed my sword. I have, in this time that I have " reigned, weeded out my bad subjects, and tried " my good. My people and I know one another, " which breeds confidence: and if there should be " any bad blood left in the kingdom, an honourable " foreign war will vent it or purify it. In this great " business let me have your advice and aid. If any " of you were to make his son knight, you might " have aid of your tenants by law. This concerns " the knighthood and spurs of the kingdom, whereof " I am father; and bound not only to seek to main- " tain it, but to advance it: but for matter of treasure, " let it not be taken from the poorest sort, but from " those to whom the benefit of the war may redound. " France is no wilderness; and I, that profess good " husbandry, hope to make the war, after the be- " ginnings to pay itself. Go together in God's " name, and lose no time; for I have called this par- " liament wholly for this cause."

Thus spake the king; but for all this, though he shewed great forwardness for a war, not only to his parliament and court, but to his privy council likewise, except the two bishops and a few more, yet nevertheless in his secret intentions he had no purpose to go through with any war upon France. But the truth was, that he did but traffic with that war, to make his return in money. He knew well, that

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France was now entire and at unity with itself, and never so mighty many years before. He saw by the taste that he had of his forces sent into Britain, that the French knew well enough how to make war with the English, by not putting things to the hazard of a battle, but wearing them by long sieges of towns, and strong fortified encampings. James the Third of Scotland, his true friend and confederate, gone; and James the Fourth, that had succeeded, wholly at the devotion of France, and ill affected towards him. As for the conjunctions of Ferdinando of Spain and Maximilian, he could make no foundation upon them. For the one had power, and not will; and the other had will, and not power. Besides that, Ferdinando had but newly taken breath from the war with the Moors; and merchanded at this time with France for the restoring of the counties of Russignon and Perpignan, oppignorated to the French. Neither was he out of fear of the discontents and ill blood within the realm; which having used always to repress and appease in person, he was loth they should find him at a distance beyond sea, and engaged in war. Finding therefore the inconveniences and difficulties in the prosecution of a war, he cast with himself how to compass two things. The one, how by the declaration and inchoation of a war to make his profit. The other, how to come off from the war with saving of his honour. For profit, it was to be made two ways; upon his subjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace; like a good merchant, that maketh his gain both upon the commodities exported, and imported back again.

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For the point of honour, wherein he might suffer for giving over the war; he considered well, that as he could not trust upon the aids of Ferdinando and Maximilian for supports of war; so the impuissance of the one, and the double proceeding of the other, lay fair for him for occasions to accept of peace. These things he did wisely foresee, and did as artificially conduct, whereby all things fell into his lap as he desired.

For as for the parliament, it presently took fire, being affectionate, of old, to the war of France; and desirous afresh to repair the dishonour they thought the king sustained by the loss of Britain. Therefore they advised the king, with great alacrity, to undertake the war of France. And although the parliament consisted of the first and second nobility together with principal citizens and townsmen, yet worthily and justly respecting more the people, whose deputies they were, than their own private persons, and finding by the Lord Chancellor's speech the king's inclination that way, they consented that commissioners should go forth for the gathering and levying of a benevolence from the more able sort. This tax, called a benevolence, was devised by Edward the Fourth, for which he sustained much envy. It was abolished by Richard the Third by act of parliament, to ingratiate himself with the people; and it was now revived by the king, but with consent of parliament, for so it was not in the time of King Edward the Fourth. But by this way he raised exceeding great sums. Insomuch as the city of London, in those days, contributed nine thousand

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pounds and better; and that chiefly levied upon the wealthier sort. There is a tradition of a dilemma, that Bishop Morton the chancellor used, to raise up the benevolence to higher rates; and some called it his fork, and some his crutch. For he had couched an article in the instructions to the commissioners who were to levy the benevolence; "That if they "met with any that were sparing, they should tell "them, that they must needs have, because they "laid up: and if they were spenders, they must "needs have, because it was seen in their port and "manner of living." So neither kind came amiss.

This parliament was merely a parliament of war; for it was in substance but a declaration of war against France and Scotland, with some statutes conducing thereunto: as, the severe punishing of mort-pays, and keeping back of soldiers' wages in captains; the like severity for the departure of soldiers without licence; strengthening of the common law in favour of protections for those that were in the king's service; and the setting the gate open and wide for men to sell or mortgage their lands, without fines for alienation, to furnish themselves with money for the war; and lastly, the voiding of all Scottish men out of England. There was also a statute for the dispersing of the standard of the exchequer throughout England; thereby to size weights and measures; and two or three more of less importance.

After the parliament was broken up, which lasted not long, the king went on with his preparations for the war of France; yet neglected not in the mean

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time the affairs of Maximilian for the quieting of Flanders, and restoring him to his authority amongst his subjects. For at that time the lord of Ravenstein, being not only a subject rebelled, but a servant revolted, and so much the more malicious and violent, by the aid of Bruges and Gaunt, had taken the town and both the castles of Sluice, as we said before: and having, by the commodity of the haven, gotten together certain ships and barks, fell to a kind of piratical trade; robbing and spoiling, and taking prisoners the ships and vessels of all nations that passed along that coast towards the mart of Antwerp, or into any part of Brabant, Zealand, or Friezeland; being ever well victualled from Picardy, besides the commodity of victuals from Sluice, and the country adjacent, and the avails of his own prizes. The French assisted him still underhand; and he likewise, as all men do that have been of both sides, thought himself not safe, except he depended upon a third person.

There was a small town some two miles from Bruges towards the sea, called Dam; which was a fort and approach to Bruges, and had a relation also to Sluice.

This town the king of the Romans had attempted often, not for any worth of the town in itself, but because it might choke Bruges, and cut it off from the sea, and ever failed. But therewith the Duke of Saxony came down into Flanders, taking upon him the person of an umpire, to compose things between Maximilian and his subjects; but being,

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indeed, fast and assured to Maximilian. Upon this pretext of neutrality and treaty he repaired to Bruges, desiring of the States of Bruges to enter peaceably into their town, with a retinue of some number of men of arms fit for his estate; being somewhat the more, as he said, the better to guard him in a country that was up in arms: and bearing them in hand, that he was to communicate with them of divers matters of great importance for their good. Which having obtained of them, he sent his carriages and harbingers before him, to provide his lodging. So that his men of war entered the city in good array, but in peaceable manner, and he followed. They that went before inquired still for inns and lodgings, as if they would have rested there all night; and so went on till they came to the gate that leadeth directly towards Dam; and they of Bruges only gazed upon them and gave them passage. The captains and inhabitants of Dam also suspected no harm from any that passed through Bruges; and discovering forces afar off supposed they had been some succours that were come from their friends, knowing some dangers towards them. And so perceiving nothing but well till it was too late, suffered them to enter their town. By which kind of slight, rather than stratagem, the town of Dam was taken, and the town of Bruges shrewdly blocked up, whereby they took great discouragement.

The Duke of Saxony, having won the town of Dam, sent immediately to the king to let him know, that it was Sluice chiefly, and the Lord Ravenstein,

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that kept the rebellion of Flanders in life: and that if it pleased the king to besiege it by sea, he also would besiege it by land, and so cut out the core of those wars.

The king, willing to uphold the authority of Maximilian, the better to hold France in awe, and being likewise sued unto by his merchants, for that the seas were much infested by the barks of the Lord Ravenstein; sent straightways Sir Edward Poynings, a valiant man, and of good service, with twelve ships, well furnished with soldiers and artillery, to clear the seas, and to besiege Sluice on that part. The Englishmen did not only coop up the Lord Ravenstein, that he stirred not, and likewise hold in strait siege the maritime part of the town, but also assailed one of the castles, and renewed the assault so for twenty days space, issuing still out of their ships at the ebb, as they made great slaughter of them of the castle; who continually fought with them to repulse them, though of the English part also were slain a brother of the Earl of Oxford's, and some fifty more.

But the siege still continuing more and more strait, and both the castles, which were the principal strength of the town, being distressed, the one by the Duke of Saxony, and the other by the English; and a bridge of boats, which the Lord Ravenstein had made between both castles, whereby succours and relief might pass from the one to the other, being on a night set on fire by the English. he despairing to hold the town, yielded, at the last, the castles to the English, and the town to the Duke of Saxony, by

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composition. Which done, the Duke of Saxony and Sir Edward Poynings treated with them of Bruges, to submit themselves to Maximilian their lord; which after some time they did, paying, in some good part, the charge of the war, whereby the Almains and foreign succours were dismissed. The example of Bruges other of the revolted towns followed; so that Maximilian grew to be out of danger, but, as his manner was to handle matters, never out of necessity. And Sir Edward Poynings, after he had continued at Sluice some good while till all things were settled, returned unto the king, being then before Boloign.

Somewhat about this time came letters from Ferdinando and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain; signifying the final conquest of Granada from the Moors; which action, in itself so worthy, King Ferdinando, whose manner was never to lose any virtue for the shewing, had expressed and displayed in his letters at large, with all the particularities and religious punctos and ceremonies, that were observed in the reception of that city and kingdom: shewing, amongst other things, that the king would not by any means in person enter the city, until he had first aloof seen the cross set up upon the greater tower of Granada, whereby it became Christian ground. That likewise, before he would enter, he did homage to God above, pronouncing by an herald from the height of that tower, that he did acknowledge to have recovered that kingdom by the help of God Almighty, and the glorious Virgin, and the

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virtuous Apostle Saint James, and the holy father Innocent the Eighth, together with the aids and services of his prelates, nobles, and commons. That yet he stirred not from his camp till he had seen a little army of martyrs, to the number of seven hundred and more Christians that had lived in bonds and servitude, as slaves to the Moors, pass before his eyes, singing a psalm for their redemption; and that he had given tribute unto God, by alms and relief extended to them all for his admission into the city. These things were in the letters, with many more ceremonies of a kind of holy ostentation.

The king, ever willing to put himself into the consort or quire of all religious actions, and naturally affecting much the King of Spain, as far as one king can affect another, partly for his virtues, and partly for a counterpoise to France; upon the receipt of these letters sent all his nobles and prelates that were about the court, together with the mayor and aldermen of London, in great solemnity to the church of Paul; there to hear a declaration from the Lord Chancellor, now Cardinal. When they were assembled, the cardinal standing upon the uppermost step or half-pace, before the quire, and all the nobles, prelates, and governors of the city at the foot of the stairs, made a speech to them; letting them know, that they were assembled in that consecrate place to sing unto God a new song. For that, said he, these many years the Christians have not gained new ground or territory upon the Infidels, nor enlarged and set further the bounds of the Chris-

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tian world. But this is now done by the prowess and devotion of Ferdinando, and Isabella, kings of Spain; who have, to their immortal honour, recovered the great and rich kingdom of Granada, and the populous and mighty city of the same name, from the Moors, having been in possession thereof by the space of seven hundred years and more: for which this assembly and all Christians are to render laud and thanks unto God, and to celebrate this noble act of the King of Spain; who in this is not only victorious but apostolical, in the gaining of new provinces to the Christian faith. And the rather, for that this victory and conquest is obtained without much effusion of blood. Whereby it is to be hoped that there shall be gained not only new territory, but infinite souls to the Church of Christ, whom the Almighty, as it seems, would have live to be converted. Herewithal he did relate some of the most memorable particulars of the war and victory. And after his speech ended, the whole assembly went solemnly in procession, and "Te Deum" was sung.

Immediately after the solemnity, the king kept his May-day at his palace of Sheen, now Richmond. Where, to warm the blood of his nobility and gallants against the war, he kept great triumphs of justing and tourney during all that month. In which space it so fell out, that Sir James Parker, and Hugh Vaughan, one of the king's gentlemen ushers, having had a controversy touching certain arms that the king at arms had given Vaughan, were appointed to run some courses one against another. And by

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accident of a faulty helmet that Parker had on, he was stricken into the mouth at the first course, so that his tongue was borne unto the hinder part of his head, in such sort that he died presently upon the place. Which, because of the controversy precedent, and the death that followed, was accounted amongst the vulgar as a combat or trial of right. The king towards the end of this summer, having put his forces, wherewith he meant to invade France, in readiness, but so as they were not yet met or mustered together, sent Urswick, now made his almoner, and Sir John Risley, to Maximilian, to let him know that he was in arms, ready to pass the seas into France, and did but expect to hear from him, when and where he did appoint to join with him, according to his promise made unto him by Countebalt, his ambassador.

The English ambassadors having repaired to Maximilian, did find his power and promise at a very great distance; he being utterly unprovided of men, money, and arms, for any such enterprise. For Maximilian, having neither wing to fly on, for that his patrimony of Austria was not in his hands, his father being then living, and on the other side, his matrimonial territories of Flanders were partly in dowry to his mother-in-law, and partly not serviceable, in respect of the late rebellions; was thereby destitute of means to enter into war. The ambassadors saw this well, but wisely thought fit to advertise the king thereof, rather than to return themselves, till the king's further pleasure were known: the rather, for that Maximilian himself

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spake as great as ever he did before, and entertained them with dilatory answers: so as the formal part of their ambassage might well warrant and require their further stay. The king hereupon, who doubted as much before, and saw through his business from the beginning, wrote back to the ambassadors, commending their discretion in not returning, and willing them to keep the state wherein they found Maximilian as a secret, till they heard further from him: and meanwhile went on with his voyage royal for France, suppressing for a time this advertisement touching Maximilian's poverty and disability.

By this time was drawn together a great and puissant army into the city of London; in which were Thomas, Marquis Dorset, Thomas, Earl of Arundell, Thomas, Earl of Derby, George, Earl of Shrewsbury, Edmund, Earl of Suffolk, Edward, Earl of Devonshire, George, Earl of Kent, the Earl of Essex, Thomas, Earl of Ormond, with a great number of barons, knights, and principal gentlemen; and amongst them Richard Thomas, much noted for the brave troops that he brought out of Wales. The army rising in the whole to the number of five and twenty thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse; over which the king, constant in his accustomed trust and employment, made Jasper, Duke of Bedford, and John, Earl of Oxford, generals under his own person. The ninth of September, in the eighth year of his reign, he departed from Greenwich towards the sea; all men wondering that he took that season, being so near winter, to begin the war; and some thereupon gathering, it was a

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sign that the war would not be long. Nevertheless the king gave out the contrary, thus: "That he "intending not to make a summer business of it, but "a resolute war, without term prefixed, until he had "recovered France; it skilled not much when he "began it, especially having Calais at his back, "where he might winter, if the reason of the war "so required." The sixth of October he embarked at Sandwich; and the same day took land at Calais, which was the rendezvous, where all the forces were assigned to meet. But in this his journey towards the sea-side, wherein, for the cause that we shall now speak of, he hovered so much the longer, he had received letters from the Lord Cordes, who the hotter he was against the English in time of war, had the more credit in a negotiation of peace; and besides was held a man open and of good faith. In which letters there was made an overture of peace from the French king, with such conditions as were somewhat to the king's taste; but this was carried at the first with wonderful secrecy. The king was no sooner come to Calais, but the calm winds of peace began to blow. For first, the English ambassadors returned out of Flanders from Maxamilian, and certified the king, that he was not to hope for any aid from Maximilian, for that he was altogether unprovided. His will was good, but he lacked money. And this was made known and spread through the army. And although the English were therewithal nothing dismayed, and that it be the manner of soldiers upon bad news to speak the more

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bravely; yet nevertheless it was a kind of preparative to a peace. Instantly in the neck of this, as the king had laid it, came news that Ferdinando and Isabella, Kings of Spain, had concluded a peace with King Charles; and that Charles had restored unto them the counties of Russignon and Perpignan, which formerly were mortgaged by John, King of Arragon, Ferdinando's father, unto France for three hundred thousand crowns: which debt was also upon this peace by Charles clearly released. This came also handsomely to put on the peace; both because so potent a confederate was fallen off, and because it was a fair example of a peace bought: so as the king should not be the sole merchant in this peace. Upon these airs of peace, the king was content that the Bishop of Exeter, and the Lord D'Aubigny, governor of Calais, should give a meeting unto the Lord Cordes, for the treaty of a peace. But himself nevertheless and his army, the fifteenth of October, removed from Calais, and in four days march sat him down before Boloign.

During this siege of Boloign, which continued near a month, there passed no memorable action, nor accident of war; only Sir John Savage, a valiant captain, was slain, riding about the walls of the town, to take a view. The town was both well fortified and well manned; yet it was distressed, and ready for an assault. Which, if it had been given, as was thought, would have cost much blood: but yet the town would have been carried in the end. Mean while a peace was concluded by the commis-

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sioners, to continue for both the kings' lives. Where there was no article of importance; being in effect rather a bargain than a treaty. For all things remained as they were, save that there should be paid to the king seven hundred forty-five thousand ducats in present, for his charges in that journey; and five and twenty thousand crowns yearly, for his charges sustained in the aids of the Britons. For which annual, though he had Maximilian bound before for those charges, yet he counted the alteration of the hand as much as the principal debt. And besides, it was left somewhat indefinitely when it should determine or expire; which made the English esteem it as a tribute carried under fair terms. And the truth is, it was paid both to the king and to his son King Henry the Eighth, longer than it could continue upon any computation of charges. There was also assigned by the French king, unto all the king's principal counsellors, great pensions, besides rich gifts for the present. Which whether the king did permit, to save his own purse from rewards, or to communicate the envy of a business, that was displeasing to his people, was diversly interpreted. For certainly the king had no great fancy to own this peace. And therefore a little before it was concluded, he had under-hand procured some of his best captains and men of war to advise him to a peace, under their hands, in an earnest manner, in the nature of a supplication. But the truth is, this peace was welcome to both kings. To Charles, for that it assured unto him the possession

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of Britain, and freed the enterprise of Naples. To Henry, for that it filled his coffers; and that he foresaw at that time a storm of inward troubles coming upon him, which presently after brake forth. But it gave no less discontent to the nobility and principal persons of the army, who had many of them sold or engaged their estates upon the hopes of the war. They stuck not to say, "That the king "cared not to plume his nobility and people, to "feather himself." And some made themselves merry with that the king had said in parliament; "That after the war was once begun, he doubted "not but to make it pay itself;" saying, he had kept promise.

Having risen from Boloign, he went to Calais, where he stayed some time. From whence also he wrote letters, which was a courtesy that he sometimes used, to the Mayor of London, and the aldermen his brethren; half bragging what great sums he had obtained for the peace; knowing well that full coffers of the king is ever good news to London. And better news it would have been, if their benevolence had been but a loan. And upon the seventeenth of December following he returned to Westminster, where he kept his Christmas.

Soon after the king's return, he sent the order of the garter to Alphonso, Duke of Calabria, eldest son to Ferdinando, King of Naples. An honour sought by that prince to hold him up in the eyes of the Italians; who expecting the arms of Charles, made great account of the amity of England for a

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bridle to France. It was received by Alphonso with all the ceremony and pomp that could be devised, as things use to be carried that are intended for opinion. It was sent by Urswick; upon whom the king bestowed this ambassage to help him after many dry employments.

At this time the king began again to be haunted with spirits, by the magic and curious arts of the Lady Margaret; who raised up the ghost of Richard, Duke of York, second son to King Edward the Fourth, to walk and vex the king. This was a finer counterfeit stone than Lambert Simnel; better done, and worn upon greater hands; being graced after with the wearing of a King of France, and a King of Scotland, not of a Duchess of Burgundy only. And for Simnel, there was not much in him, more than that he was a handsome boy, and did not shame his robes. But this youth, of whom we are now to speak, was such a mercurial, as the like hath seldom been known; and could make his own part, if at any time he chanced to be out. Wherefore this being one of the strangest examples of a personation, that ever was in elder or later times; it deserveth to be discovered, and related at the full. Although the king's manner of shewing things by pieces, and by dark lights, hath so muffled it, that it hath left it almost as a mystery to this day.

The Lady Margaret, whom the king's friends called Juno, because she was to him as Juno was to Æneas, stirring both heaven and hell to do him mischief, for a foundation of her particular practices

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against him, did continually, by all means possible, nourish, maintain, and divulge the flying opinion, that Richard, Duke of York, second son to Edward the Fourth, was not murdered in the Tower, as was given out, but saved alive. For that those that were employed in that barbarous fact, having destroyed the elder brother, were stricken with remorse and compassion towards the younger, and set him privily at liberty to seek his fortune. This lure she cast abroad, thinking that this fame and belief, together with the fresh example of Lambert Simnel, would draw at one time or other some birds to strike upon it. She used likewise a further diligence, not committing all to chance: for she had some secret espials, like to the Turks' commissioners for children of tribute, to look abroad for handsome and graceful youths, to make Plantagenets, and Dukes of York. At the last she did light on one, in whom all things met, as one would wish, to serve her turn for a counterfeit of Richard, Duke of York.

This was Perkin Warbeck, whose adventures we shall now describe. For first, the years agreed well. Secondly, he was a youth of fine favour and shape. But more than that, he had such a crafty and bewitching fashion, both to move pity, and to induce belief, as was like a kind of fascination and enchantment to those that saw him or heard him. Thirdly, he had been from his childhood such a wanderer, or, as the king called him, such a land-loper, as it was extreme hard to hunt out his nest and parents. Neither again could any man, by company or con-

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versing with him, be able to say or detect well what he was, he did so flit from place to place. Lastly, there was a circumstance, which is mentioned by one that wrote in the same time, that is very likely to have made somewhat to the matter: which is, that King Edward the Fourth was his godfather. Which, as it is somewhat suspicious for a wanton prince to become gossip in so mean a house, and might make a man think, that he might indeed have in him some base blood of the house of York; so at the least, though that were not, it might give the occasion to the boy, in being called King Edward's godson, or perhaps in sport King Edward's son, to entertain such thoughts into his head. For tutor he had none, for ought that appears, as Lambert Simnel had, until he came unto the Lady Margaret, who instructed him.

Thus therefore it came to pass: there was a townsman of Tournay, that had borne office in that town, whose name was John Osbeck, a convert Jew, married to Catherine de Faro, whose business drew him to live for a time with his wife at London in King Edward the Fourth's days. During which time he had a son by her, and being known in court, the king either out of a religious nobleness, because he was a convert, or upon some private acquaintance, did him the honour to be godfather to his child, and named him Peter. But afterwards, proving a dainty and effeminate youth, he was commonly called by the diminutive of his name, Peterkin, or Perkin. For as for the name of Warbeck, it

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was given him when they did but guess at it, before examinations had been taken. But yet he had been so much talked on by that name, as it stuck by him after his true name of Osbeck was known. While he was a young child, his parents returned with him to Tournay. Then was he placed in a house of a kinsman of his, called John Stenbeck, at Antwerp, and so roved up and down between Antwerp and Tournay, and other towns of Flanders, for a good time; living much in English company, and having the English tongue perfect. In which time, being grown a comely youth, he was brought by some of the espials of the Lady Margaret into her presence. Who viewing him well, and seeing that he had a face and personage that would bear a noble fortune; and finding him otherwise of a fine spirit and winning behaviour, thought she had now found a curious piece of marble to carve out an image of a Duke of York. She kept him by her a great while, but with extreme secrecy. The while she instructed him by many cabinet conferences. First, in princely behaviour and gesture; teaching him how he should keep state, and yet with a modest sense of his misfortunes. Then she informed him of all the circumstances and particulars that concerned the person of Richard, Duke of York, which he was to act; describing unto him the personages, lineaments, and features of the king and queen his pretended parents; and of his brother, and sisters, and divers others, that were nearest him in his childhood; together with all passages, some secret, some

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common, that were fit for a child's memory, until the death of King Edward. Then she added the particulars of the time from the king's death, until he and his brother were committed to the Tower, as well during the time he was abroad, as while he was in sanctuary. As for the times while he was in the Tower, and the manner of his brother's death, and his own escape; she knew they were things that a very few could controul. And therefore she taught him only to tell a smooth and likely tale of those matters; warning him not to vary from it. It was agreed likewise between them, what account he should give of his peregrination abroad, intermixing many things which were true, and such as they knew others could testify, for the credit of the rest; but still making them to hang together with the part he was to play. She taught him likewise how to avoid sundry captious and tempting questions, which were like to be asked of him. But in this she found him of himself so nimble and shifting, as she trusted much to his own wit and readiness; and therefore laboured the less in it. Lastly, she raised his thoughts with some present rewards, and further promises; setting before him chiefly the glory and fortune of a crown, if things went well, and a sure refuge to her court, if the worst should fall. After such time as she thought he was perfect in his lesson, she began to cast with herself from what coast this blazing star should first appear, and at what time it must be upon the horizon of Ireland; for there had the like meteor strong influence before.

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The time of the apparition to be, when the king should be engaged into a war with France. But well she knew, that whatsoever should come from her would be held suspected. And therefore, if he should go out of Flanders immediately into Ireland, she might be thought to have some hand in it. And besides, the time was not yet ripe; for that the two kings were then upon terms of peace. Therefore she wheeled about; and to put all suspicion afar off, and loth to keep him any longer by her, for that she knew secrets are not long-lived, she sent him unknown into Portugal with the Lady Brampton, an English lady, that embarked for Portugal at that time; with some privado of her own, to have an eye upon him, and there he was to remain, and to expect her further directions. In the mean time she omitted not to prepare things for his better welcome and accepting, not only in the kingdom of Ireland, but in the court of France. He continued in Portugal about a year; and by that time the King of England called his parliament, as hath been said, and had declared open war against France. Now did the sign reign, and the constellation was come, under which Perkin should appear. And therefore he was straight sent unto by the duchess to go for Ireland, according to the first designment. In Ireland he did arrive at the town of Cork. When he was thither come, his own tale was, when he made his confession afterwards, that the Irishmen, finding him in some good clothes, came flocking about him, and bare him down that he was the Duke of Clarence that had been

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there before. And after, that he was Richard the Third's base son. And lastly, that he was Richard, Duke of York, second son to Edward the Fourth. But that he, for his part, renounced all these things, and offered to swear upon the holy Evangelists, that he was no such man; till at last they forced it upon him, and bade him fear nothing, and so forth. But the truth is, that immediately upon his coming into Ireland, he took upon him the said person of the Duke of York, and drew unto him complices and partakers by all the means he could devise. Insomuch as he wrote his letters unto the Earls of Desmond and Kildare, to come in to his aid, and be of his party; the originals of which letters are yet extant.

Somewhat before this time, the duchess had also gained under her a near servant of King Henry's own, one Stephen Frion, his secretary for the French tongue: an active man, but turbulent and discontented. This Frion had fled over to Charles the French king, and put himself into his service, at such time as he began to be in open enmity with the king. Now King Charles, when he understood of the person and attempts of Perkin, ready of himself to embrace all advantages against the King of England, instigated by Frion, and formerly prepared by the Lady Margaret, forthwith dispatched one Lucas and this Frion, in the nature of ambassadors to Perkin, to advertise him of the king's good inclination to him, and that he was resolved to aid him to recover his right against King Henry, an usurper of England,

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and an enemy of France; and wished him to come over unto him at Paris. Perkin thought himself in heaven now that he was invited by so great a king in so honourable a manner. And imparting unto his friends in Ireland for their encouragement, how fortune called him, and what great hopes he had, sailed presently into France. When he was come to the court of France, the king received him with great homage; saluted, and styled him by the name of the Duke of York; lodged him in great state. And the better to give him the representation and the countenance of a prince, assigned him a guard for his person, whereof the Lord Congresall was captain. The courtiers likewise, though it be ill mocking with the French, applied themselves to their king's bent, seeing there was reason of state for it. At the same time there repaired unto Perkin divers Englishmen of quality; Sir George Neville, Sir John Taylor, and about one hundred more; and amongst the rest, this Stephen Frion, of whom we spake, who followed his fortune both then and for a long time after, and was indeed his principal counsellor and instrument in all his proceedings. But all this on the French king's part was but a trick, the better to bow King Henry to peace. And therefore upon the first grain of incense that was sacrificed upon the altar of peace at Boloign, Perkin was smoked away. Yet would not the French king deliver him up to King Henry, as he was laboured to do, for his honour's sake, but warned him away and dismissed him. And Perkin on his part was as

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ready to be gone, doubting he might be caught up under-hand. He therefore took his way into Flanders, unto the Duchess of Burgundy; pretending that having been variously tossed by fortune, he directed his course thither as to a safe harbour: no ways taking knowledge that he had ever been there before, but as if that had been his first address. The duchess, on the other part, made it as new and strange to see him; pretending, at the first, that she was taught and made wise by the example of Lambert Simnel, how she did admit of any counterfeit stuff; though even in that, she said she was not fully satisfied. She pretended at the first, and that was ever in the presence of others, to pose him and sift him, thereby to try whether he were indeed the very Duke of York or no. But seeming to receive full satisfaction by his answers, she then feigned herself to be transported with a kind of astonishment, mixt of joy and wonder, at his miraculous deliverance; receiving him as if he were risen from death to life: and inferring, that God, who had in such wonderful manner preserved him from death, did likewise reserve him for some great and prosperous fortune. As for his dismission out of France, they interpreted it not, as if he were detected or neglected for a counterfeit deceiver; but contrariwise, that it did shew manifestly unto the world, that he was some great matter; for that it was his abandoning that, in effect, made the peace; being no more but the sacrificing of a poor distressed prince unto the utility and ambition of two mighty monarchs. Neither was Perkin,

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for his part, wanting to himself, either in gracious and princely behaviour, or in ready and apposite answers, or in contenting and caressing those that did apply themselves unto him, or in pretty scorn and disdain to those that seemed to doubt of him; but in all things did notably acquit himself: insomuch as it was generally believed, as well amongst great persons as amongst the vulgar, that he was indeed Duke Richard. Nay, himself, with long and continual counterfeiting, and with oft telling a lie, was turned by habit almost into the thing he seemed to be; and from a liar to a believer. The duchess therefore, as in a case out of doubt, did him all princely honour, calling him always by the name of her nephew, and giving him the delicate title of the white rose of England; and appointed him a guard of thirty persons, halberdiers, clad in a party-coloured livery of murrey and blue, to attend his person. Her court likewise, and generally the Dutch and strangers, in their usage towards him, expressed no less respect.

The news hereof came blazing and thundering over into England, that the Duke of York was sure alive. As for the name of Perkin Warbeck, it was not at that time come to light, but all the news ran upon the Duke of York; that he had been entertained in Ireland, bought and sold in France, and was now plainly avowed, and in great honour in Flanders. These fames took hold of divers; in some upon discontent, in some upon ambition, in some upon levity and desire of change, and in some few upon conscience and belief, but in most upon simplicity;

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and in divers out of dependence upon some of the better sort, who did in secret favour and nourish these bruits. And it was not long ere these rumours of novelty had begotten others of scandal and murmur against the king and his government, taxing him for a great taxer of his people, and discountenancer of his nobility. The loss of Britain, and the peace with France were not forgotten. But chiefly they fell upon the wrong that he did his queen, in that he did not reign in her right. Wherefore they said, that God had now brought to light a masculine branch of the house of York, that would not be at his courtesy, howsoever he did depress his poor lady. And yet, as it fareth in things which are current with the multitude, and which they affect, these fames grew so general, as the authors were lost in the generality of speakers. They being like running weeds that have no certain root; or like footings up and down impossible to be traced; but after a while these ill humours drew to an head, and settled secretly in some eminent persons; which were, Sir William Stanley, lord chamberlain of the king's household, the Lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Mountfort, and Sir Thomas Thwaites. These entered into a secret conspiracy to favour Duke Richard's title. Nevertheless none engaged their fortunes in this business openly but two: Sir Robert Clifford, and Master William Barley, who sailed over into Flanders, sent indeed from the party of the conspirators here, to understand the truth of those things that passed there, and not without some help of monies

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from hence; provisionally to be delivered, if they found and were satisfied that there was truth in these pretences. The person of Sir Robert Clifford, being a gentleman of fame and family, was extremely welcome to the Lady Margaret. Who after she had conference with him, brought him to the sight of Perkin, with whom he had often speech and discourse. So that in the end, won either by the duchess to affect, or by Perkin to believe, he wrote back into England, that he knew the person of Richard, Duke of York, as well as he knew his own, and that this young man was undoubtedly he. By this means all things grew prepared to revolt and sedition here, and the conspiracy came to have a correspondence between Flanders and England.

The king on his part was not asleep; but to arm or levy forces yet, he thought would but shew fear, and do this idol too much worship. Nevertheless the ports he did shut up, or at least kept a watch on them, that none should pass to or fro that was suspected: but for the rest, he chose to work by countermine. His purposes were two; the one to lay open the abuse, the other to break the knot of the conspirators. To detect the abuse, there were but two ways; the first, to make it manifest to the world that the Duke of York was indeed murdered; the other, to prove that were he dead or alive, yet Perkin was a counterfeit. For the first, thus it stood. There were but four persons that could speak upon knowledge to the murder of the Duke of York; Sir James Tirrel, the employed man from

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King Richard, John Dighton and Miles Forrest his servants, the two butchers or tormentors, and the priest of the Tower that buried them. Of which four, Miles Forrest and the priest were dead, and there remained alive only Sir James Tirrel and John Dighton. These two the king caused to be committed to the Tower, and examined touching the manner of the death of the two innocent princes. They agreed both in a tale, as the king gave out to this effect: That King Richard having directed his warrant for the putting of them to death to Brackenbury, the lieutenant of the Tower, was by him refused. Whereupon the king directed his warrant to Sir James Tirrel, to receive the keys of the Tower from the lieutenant, for the space of a night, for the king's special service. That Sir James Tirrel accordingly repaired to the Tower by night, attended by his two servants afore-named, whom he had chosen for that purpose. That himself stood at the stair foot, and sent these two villains to execute the murder. That they smothered them in their bed; and, that done, called up their master to see their naked dead bodies, which they had laid forth. That they were buried under the stairs, and some stones cast upon them. That when the report was made to King Richard, that his will was done, he gave Sir James Tirrel great thanks, but took exception to the place of their burial, being too base for them that were king's children. Whereupon, another night, by the king's warrant renewed, their bodies were removed by the priest of the Tower, and buried by

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him in some place, which, by means of the priest's death soon after, could not be known. Thus much was then delivered abroad, to be the effect of those examinations; but the king, nevertheless, made no use of them in any of his declarations; whereby, as it seems, those examinations left the business somewhat perplexed. And as for Sir James Tirrel, he was soon after beheaded in the Tower-yard for other matters of treason. But John Dighton, who, it seemeth, spake best for the king, was forthwith set at liberty, and was the principal means of divulging this tradition. Therefore this kind of proof being left so naked, the king used the more diligence in the latter, for the tracing of Perkin. To this purpose he sent abroad into several parts, and especially into Flanders, divers secret and nimble scouts and spies, some feigning themselves to fly over unto Perkin, and to adhere unto him; and some under other pretences, to learn, search, and discover all the circumstances and particulars of Perkin's parents, birth, person, travels up and down; and in brief, to have a journal, as it were, of his life and doings. He furnished these his employed men liberally with money, to draw on and reward intelligences; giving them also in charge, to advertise continually what they found, and nevertheless still to go on. And ever as one advertisement and discovery called up another, he employed other new men, where the business did require it. Others he employed in a more special nature and trust, to be his pioneers in the main countermine. These were directed to insinuate

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themselves into the familiarity and confidence of the principal persons of the party in Flanders, and so to learn what associates they had, and correspondents, either here in England or abroad; and how far every one engaged, and what new ones they meant afterwards to try or board. And as this for the persons, so for the actions themselves, to discover to the bottom, as they could, the utmost of Perkin's and the conspirators, their intentions, hopes, and practices. These latter best-be-trust spies had some of them further instructions, to practise and draw off the best friends and servants of Perkin, by making remonstrance to them, how weakly his enterprise and hopes were built, and with how prudent and potent a king they had to deal; and to reconcile them to the king, with promise of pardon and good conditions of reward. And, above the rest, to assail, sap, and work into the constancy of Sir Robert Clifford; and to win him, if they could, being the man that knew most of their secrets, and who being won away, would most appall and discourage the rest, and in a manner break the knot.

There is a strange tradition; that the king being lost in a wood of suspicions, and not knowing whom to trust, had both intelligence with the confessors and chaplains of divers great men; and for the better credit of his espials abroad with the contrary side, did use to have them cursed at Paul's, by name, amongst the bead-roll of the king's enemies, according to the custom of those times. These espials plied their charge so roundly, as the king had an

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anatomy of Perkin alive; and was likewise well informed of the particular correspondent conspirators in England, and many other mysteries were revealed; and Sir Robert Clifford in especial won to be assured to the king, and industrious and officious for his service. The king therefore, receiving a rich return of his diligence, and great satisfaction touching a number of particulars, first divulged and spread abroad the imposture and juggling of Perkin's person and travels, with the circumstances thereof, throughout the realm; not by proclamation, because things were yet in examination, and so might receive the more or the less, but by court-fames, which commonly print better than printed proclamations. Then thought he it also time to send an ambassage unto Archduke Philip into Flanders, for the abandoning and dismissing of Perkin. Herein he employed Sir Edward Poynings, and Sir William Warham, doctor of the canon law. The archduke was then young, and governed by his council, before whom the ambassadors had audience; and Dr. Warham spake in this manner:

"My lords, the king our master is very sorry, "that England and your country here of Flanders, "having been counted as man and wife for so long "time; now this country of all others should be the "stage, where a base counterfeit should play the "part of a King of England; not only to his grace's "disquiet and dishonour, but to the scorn and re-"proach of all sovereign princes. To counterfeit "the dead image of a king in his coin is an high

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" offence by all laws, but to counterfeit the living " image of a king in his person, exceedeth all falsifi- " cations, except it should be that of a Mahomet, or " an Antichrist, that counterfeit divine honour. The " king hath too great an opinion of this sage coun- " cil, to think that any of you is caught with this " fable, though way may be given by you to the " passion of some, the thing in itself is so improba- " ble. To set testimonies aside of the death of Duke " Richard, which the king hath upon record, plain " and infallible, because they may be thought to be " in the king's own power, let the thing testify for " itself. Sense and reason no power can command. " Is it possible, trow you, that King Richard should " damn his soul, and foul his name with so abomin- " able a murder, and yet not mend his case? Or do " you think that men of blood, that were his instru- " ments, did turn to pity in the midst of their exe- " cution? Whereas in cruel and savage beasts, and " men also, the first draught of blood doth yet make " them more fierce and enraged. Do you not know " that the bloody executioners of tyrants do go to " such errands with an halter about their neck; so " that if they perform not they are sure to die for it? " And do you think that these men would hazard " their own lives for sparing another's? Admit they " should have saved him, what should they have " done with him? Turn him into London streets, " that the watchmen, or any passenger that should " light upon him, might carry him before a justice, " and so all come to light? Or should they have kept

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" him by them secretly? That surely would have " required a great deal of care, charge, and con- " tinual fears. But, my lords, I labour too much " in a clear business. The king is so wise, and " hath so good friends abroad, as now he knoweth " Duke Perkin from his cradle. And because he is " a great prince, if you have any good poet here, he " can help him with notes to write his life; and to " parallel him with Lambert Simnel, now the king's " falconer. And therefore, to speak plainly to your " lordships, it is the strangest thing in the world, " that the Lady Margaret, excuse us if we name " her, whose malice to the king is both causeless and " endless, should now when she is old, at the time " when other women give over child-bearing, bring " forth two such monsters; being not the births of " nine or ten months, but of many years. And " whereas other natural mothers bring forth children " weak, and not able to help themselves; she bringeth " forth tall striplings, able soon after their coming " into the world to bid battle to mighty kings. My " lords, we stay unwillingly upon this part. We " would to God, that lady would once taste the joys " which God Almighty doth serve up unto her, in " beholding her niece to reign in such honour, and " with so much royal issue, which she might be " pleased to account as her own. The king's request " unto the archduke, and your lordships, might be " that according to the example of King Charles, " who hath already discarded him, you would banish " this unworthy fellow out of your dominions. But

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" because the king may justly expect more from an " ancient confederate, than from a new reconciled " enemy, he maketh his request unto you to deliver " him up into his hands: pirates and impostors of " this sort, being fit to be accounted the common " enemies of mankind, and no ways to be protected " by the law of nations.

After some time of deliberation, the ambassadors received this short answer:

" That the archduke, for the love of King Henry, " would in no sort aid or assist the pretended duke, " but in all things conserve the amity he had with " the king: but for the duchess dowager, she was " absolute in the lands of her dowry, and that he " could not let her to dispose of her own."

The king, upon the return of the ambassadors, was nothing satisfied with this answer. For well he knew, that a patrimonial dowry carried no part of sovereignty or command of forces. Besides, the ambassadors told him plainly, that they saw the duchess had a great party in the archduke's council; and that howsoever it was carried in a course of connivance, yet the archduke underhand gave aid and furtherance to Perkin. Wherefore, partly out of courage, and partly out of policy, the king forthwith banished all Flemings, as well their persons as their wares, out of his kingdom; commanding his subjects likewise, and by name his merchants adventurers, which had a resiance in Antwerp, to return; translating the mart, which commonly followed the English cloth, unto Calais; and embarred also all further

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trade for the future. This the king did, being sensible in point of honour, not to suffer a pretender to the crown of England to affront him so near at hand, and he to keep terms of friendship with the country where he did set up. But he had also a further reach: for that he knew well, that the subjects of Flanders drew so great commodity from the trade of England, as by this embargo they would soon wax weary of Perkin; and that the tumults of Flanders had been so late and fresh, as it was no time for the prince to displease the people. Nevertheless for forms sake, by way of requital, the archduke did likewise banish the English out of Flanders, which in effect was done to his hand.

The king being well advertised, that Perkin did more trust upon friends and partakers within the realm than upon foreign arms, thought it behoved him to apply the remedy where the disease lay; and to proceed with severity against some of the principal conspirators here within the realm; thereby to purge the ill humours in England, and to cool the hopes in Flanders. Wherefore he caused to be apprehended, almost at an instant, John Ratcliffe Lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William D'Aubigny, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas Astwood. All these were arraigned, convicted, and condemned for high treason, in adhering and promising aid to Perkin. Of these the Lord Fitzwater conveyed to Calais, and there kept in hold, and in hope of life, until soon after, either impatient or betrayed, he dealt with his

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keeper to have escaped, and thereupon was beheaded. But Sir Simon Mountfort, Robert Ratcliffe, and William D'Aubigny, were beheaded immediately after their condemnation. The rest were pardoned, together with many others, clerks and laics, amongst which were two Dominican friars, and William Worseley, Dean of Paul's, which latter sort passed examination, but came not to public trial.

The Lord Chamberlain at that time was not touched; whether it were that the king would not stir too many humours at once, but, after the manner of good physicians, purge the head last; or that Clifford, from whom most of these discoveries came, reserved that piece for his own coming over; signifying only to the king in the mean time, that he doubted there were some greater ones in the business, whereof he would give the king further account when he came to his presence.

Upon Allhallows-day-even, being now the tenth year of the king's reign, the king's second son Henry was created Duke of York; and as well the duke, as divers others, noblemen, knights-bachelors, and gentlemen of quality, were made knights of the Bath according to the ceremony. Upon the morrow after twelfth-day, the king removed from Westminster, where he had kept his Christmas, to the Tower of London. This he did as soon as he had advertisement that Sir Robert Clifford, in whose bosom or budget most of Perkin's secrets were laid up, was come into England. And the place of the Tower was chosen to that end, that if Clifford should accuse

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any of the great ones, they might, without suspicion or noise, or sending abroad of warrants, be presently attached; the court and prison being within the cincture of one wall. After a day or two, the king drew unto him a selected council, and admitted Clifford to his presence; who first fell down at his feet, and in all humble manner craved the king's pardon; which the king then granted, though he were indeed secretly assured of his life before. Then commanded to tell his knowledge, he did amongst many others, of himself, not interrogated, appeach Sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain of the king's household.

The king seemed to be much amazed at the naming of this lord, as if he had heard the news of some strange and fearful prodigy. To hear a man that had done him service of so high a nature, as to save his life, and set the crown upon his head; a man, that enjoyed, by his favour and advancement, so great a fortune both in honour and riches; a man, that was tied unto him in so near a band of alliance, his brother having married the king's mother; and lastly, a man, to whom he had committed the trust of his person, in making him his chamberlain: that this man, no ways disgraced, no ways discontent, no ways put in fear, should be false unto him. Clifford was required to say over again and again the particulars of his accusation; being warned, that in a matter so unlikely, and that concerned so great a servant of the king's, he should not in any wise go too far. But the king finding that he did sadly and constantly,

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without hesitation or varying, and with those civil protestations that were fit, stand to that that he had said, offering to justify it upon his soul and life; he caused him to be removed. And after he had not a little bemoaned himself unto his council there present, gave order that Sir William Stanley should be restrained in his own chamber where he lay before, in the square tower: and the next day he was examined by the lords. Upon his examination he denied little of that wherewith he was charged, nor endeavoured much to excuse or extenuate his fault: so that, not very wisely, thinking to make his offence less by confession, he made it enough for condemnation. It was conceived, that he trusted much to his former merits, and the interest that his brother had in the king. But those helps were over-weighed by divers things that made against him, and were predominant in the king's nature and mind. First, an over-merit: for convenient merit, unto which reward may easily reach, doth best with kings. Next the sense of his power; for the king thought, that he that could set him up, was the more dangerous to pull him down. Thirdly, the glimmering of a confiscation; for he was the richest subject for value in the kingdom; there being found in his castle of Holt forty thousand marks in ready money and plate, besides jewels, household-stuff, stocks upon his grounds, and other personal estate, exceeding great. And for his revenue in land and fee, it was three thousand pounds a year of old rent, a great matter in those times. Lastly, the nature of the time; for

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if the king had been out of fear of his own estate, it was not unlike he would have spared his life. But the cloud of so great a rebellion hanging over his head, made him work sure. Wherefore after some six weeks distance of time, which the king did honourably interpose, both to give space to his brother's intercession, and to shew to the world that he had a conflict with himself what he should do; he was arraigned of high treason, and condemned, and presently after beheaded.

Yet is it to this day left but in dark memory, both what the case of this noble person was, for which he suffered; and what likewise was the ground and cause of his defection, and the alienation of his heart from the king. His case was said to be this: That in discourse between Sir Robert Clifford and him he had said, "That if he were sure that that young man "were King Edward's son, he would never bear "arms against him." This case seems somewhat an hard case, both in respect of the conditional, and in respect of the other words. But for the conditional, it seemeth the judges of that time, who were learned men, and the three chief of them of the privy council, thought it was a dangerous thing to admit ifs and ands, to qualify words of treason; whereby every man might express his malice, and blanch his danger. And it was like to the case, in the following times, of Elizabeth Barton, the holy maid of Kent; who had said, "That if King Henry the "Eighth did not take Catherine his wife again, he "should be deprived of his crown, and die the death

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" of a dog." And infinite cases may be put of like nature; which, it seemeth, the grave judges taking into consideration, would not admit of treasons upon condition. And as for the positive words, " That " he would not bear arms against King Edward's " son;" though the words seem calm, yet it was a plain and direct over-ruling of the king's title, either by the line of Lancaster, or by act of parliament; which, no doubt, pierced the king more, than if Stanley had charged his lance upon him in the field. For if Stanley would hold that opinion, that a son of King Edward had still the better right, he being so principal a person of authority and favour about the king, it was to teach all England to say as much. And therefore, as those times were, that speech touched the quick. But some writers do put this out of doubt; for they say, that Stanley did expressly promise to aid Perkin, and sent him some help of treasure.

Now for the motive of his falling off from the king; it is true, that at Bosworth-field the king was beset, and in a manner inclosed round about by the troops of King Richard, and in manifest danger of his life; when this Stanley was sent by his brother, with three thousand men to his rescue, which he performed so, that King Richard was slain upon the place. So as the condition of mortal men is not capable of a greater benefit, than the king received by the hands of Stanley; being like the benefit of Christ, at once to save and crown. For which service the king gave him great gifts, made him his

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counsellor and chamberlain: and, somewhat contrary to his nature, had winked at the great spoils of Bosworth-field, which came almost wholly to this man's hands, to his infinite enriching. Yet nevertheless, blown up with the conceit of his merit, he did not think he had received good measure from the king, at least not pressing down and running over, as he expected. And his ambition was so exorbitant and unbounded, as he became suitor to the king for the Earldom of Chester: which ever being a kind of appanage to the principality of Wales, and using to go to the king's son, his suit did not only end in a denial but in a distaste: the king perceiving thereby, that his desires were intemperate, and his cogitations vast and irregular, and that his former benefits were but cheap, and lightly regarded by him. Wherefore the king began not to brook him well. And as a little leaven of new distaste doth commonly sour the whole lump of former merits, the king's wit began now to suggest unto his passion, that Stanley at Bosworth-field, though he came time enough to save his life, yet he stayed long enough to endanger it. But yet having no matter against him, he continued him in his places until this his fall.

After him was made Lord Chamberlain, Giles Lord D'Aubigny, a man of great sufficiency and valour; the more because he was gentle and moderate.

There was a common opinion, that Sir Robert Clifford, who now was become the state informer, was from the beginning an emissary and spy of the

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king's; and that he fled over into Flanders with his consent and privity. But this is not probable; both because he never recovered that degree of grace which he had with the king before his going over; and chiefly, for that the discovery which he had made touching the Lord Chamberlain, which was his great service, grew not from any thing he learned abroad, for that he knew it well before he went.

These executions, and especially that of the Lord Chamberlain's, which was the chief strength of the party, and by means of Sir Robert Clifford, who was the most inward man of trust amongst them, did extremely quail the design of Perkin and his complices, as well through discouragement as distrust. So that they were now, like sand without lime, ill bound together; especially as many as were English, who were at a gaze, looking strange one upon another, not knowing who was faithful to their side; but thinking that the king, what with his baits, and what with his nets, would draw them all unto him that were any thing worth. And indeed it came to pass, that divers came away by the thread, sometimes one and sometimes another. Barley, that was joint commissioner with Clifford, did hold out one of the longest, till Perkin was far worn; yet made his peace at the length. But the fall of this great man, being in so high authority and favour, as was thought, with the king; and the manner of carriage of the business, as if there had been secret inquisition upon him for a great time before; and the cause for which he suffered, which was little more than for saying in

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effect that the title of York was better than the title of Lancaster; which was the case almost of every man, at the least in opinion, was matter of great terror amongst all the king's servants and subjects; insomuch as no man almost thought himself secure, and men durst scarce commune or talk one with another, but there was a general diffidence every where: which nevertheless made the king rather more absolute than more safe. For "bleeding inwards, and shut vapours, strangle soonest, and oppress most."

Hereupon presently came forth swarms and vollies of libels, which are the gusts of liberty of speech restrained, and the females of sedition, containing bitter invectives and slanders against the king and some of the council: for the contriving and dispersing whereof, after great diligence of inquiry, five mean persons were caught up and executed.

Mean while the king did not neglect Ireland, being the soil where these mushrooms and upstart weeds, that spring up in a night, did chiefly prosper. He sent therefore from hence, for the better settling of his affairs there, commissioners of both robes, the Prior of Lanthony, to be his chancellor in that kingdom; and Sir Edward Poynings, with a power of men, and a martial commission, together with a civil power of his lieutenant, with a clause, that the Earl of Kildare, then deputy, should obey him. But the wild Irish, who were the principal offenders, fled into the woods and bogs, after their manner; and those that knew themselves guilty in

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the pale fled to them. So that Sir Edward Poynings was enforced to make a wild chase upon the wild Irish; where, in respect of the mountains and fastnesses, he did little good. Which, either out of a suspicious melancholy upon his bad success, or the better to save his service from disgrace, he would needs impute unto the comfort that the rebels should receive underhand from the Earl of Kildare; every light suspicion growing upon the earl, in respect of the Kildare that was in the action of Lambert Simnel, and slain at Stokefield. Wherefore he caused the earl to be apprehended and sent into England; where, upon examination, he cleared himself so well, as he was replaced in his government. But Poynings', the better to make compensation of the meagerness of his service in the wars by acts of peace, called a parliament; where was made that memorable act, which at this day is called Poynings' law, whereby all the statutes of England were made to be of force in Ireland; for before they were not, neither are any now in force in Ireland, which were made in England since that time; which was the tenth year of the king.

About this time began to be discovered in the king that disposition, which afterwards, nourished and whet on by bad counsellors and ministers, proved the blot of his times: which was the course he took to crush treasure out of his subjects' purses, by forfeitures upon penal laws. At this men did startle the more at this time, because it appeared plainly to be in the king's nature, and not out of his necessity,

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he being now in float for treasure: for that he had newly received the peace-money from France, the benevolence-money from his subjects, and great casualties upon the confiscations of the Lord Chamberlain and divers others. The first noted case of this kind was that of Sir William Capel, alderman of London; who, upon sundry penal laws, was condemned in the sum of seven and twenty hundred pounds, and compounded with the king for sixteen hundred: and yet after, Empson would have cut another chop out of him if the king had not died in the instant.

The summer following, the king, to comfort his mother, whom he did always tenderly love and revere, and to make open demonstration to the world, that the proceedings against Sir William Stanley, which was imposed upon him by necessity of state, had not in any degree diminished the affection he bare to Thomas his brother, went in progress to Latham, to make merry with his mother and the earl, and lay there divers days.

During this progress, Perkin Warbeck finding that time and temporising, which, whilst his practices were covert and wrought well in England, made for him; did now, when they were discovered and defeated, rather make against him, for that when matters once go down the hill, they stay not without a new force, resolved to try his adventure in some exploit upon England; hoping still upon the affections of the common people towards the house of York. Which body of common people he thought

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was not to be practised upon, as persons of quality are; but that the only practice upon their affections was to set up a standard in the field. The place where he should make his attempt, he chose to be the coast of Kent.

The king by this time was grown to such a height of reputation for cunning and policy, that every accident and event that went well, was laid and imputed to his foresight, as if he had set it before: as in this particular of Perkin's design upon Kent. For the world would not believe afterwards, but the king, having secret intelligence of Perkin's intention for Kent, the better to draw it on, went of purpose into the north afar off, laying an open side unto Perkin, to make him come to the close, and so to trip up his heels, having made sure in Kent beforehand.

But so it was, that Perkin had gathered together a power of all nations, neither in number, nor in the hardiness and courage of the persons, contemptible, but in their nature and fortunes to be feared, as well of friends as enemies; being bankrupts, and many of them felons, and such as lived by rapine. These he put to sea, and arrived upon the coast of Sandwich and Deal, in Kent, about July.

There he cast anchor, and to prove the affections of the people, sent some of his men to land, making great boasts of the power that was to follow. The Kentish men, perceiving that Perkin was not followed by any English of name or account, and that his forces consisted but of strangers born, and most

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of them base people and free-booters, fitter to spoil a coast than to recover a kingdom; resorting unto the principal gentlemen of the country, professed their loyalty to the king, and desired to be directed and commanded for the best of the king's service. The gentlemen entering into consultation, directed some forces in good number to shew themselves upon the coast; and some of them to make signs to entice Perkin's soldiers to land, as if they would join with them; and some others to appear from some other places, and to make semblance as if they fled from them, the better to encourage them to land. But Perkin, who by playing the prince, or else taught by secretary Frion, had learned thus much, that people under command do use to consult, and after to march in order; and rebels contrariwise run upon an head together in confusion, considering the delay of time, and observing their orderly and not tumultuary arming, doubted the worst. And therefore the wily youth would not set one foot out of his ship, till he might see things were sure. Wherefore the king's forces, perceiving that they could draw on no more than those that were formerly landed, set upon them and cut them in pieces ere they could fly back to their ships. In which skirmish, besides those that fled and were slain, there were taken about an hundred and fifty persons. Which, for that the king thought, that to punish a few for example was gentleman's pay; but for rascal people, they were to be cut off every man, especially in the beginning of an enterprize: and likewise for that he

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saw that Perkin's forces would now consist chiefly of such rabble and scum of desperate people, he therefore hanged them all for the greater terror. They were brought to London all railed in ropes, like a team of horses in a cart, and were executed some of them at London and Wapping, and the rest at divers places upon the sea-coast of Kent, Sussex, and Norfolk, for sea-marks or light-houses, to teach Perkin's people to avoid the coast. The king being advertised of the landing of the rebels, thought to leave his progress: but being certified the next day, that they were partly defeated, and partly fled, he continued his progress, and sent Sir Richard Guildford into Kent in message; who calling the country together, did much commend from the king their fidelity, manhood, and well handling of that service; and gave them all thanks, and, in private, promised reward to some particulars.

Upon the sixteenth of November, this being the eleventh year of the king, was holden the serjeants' feast at Ely-place, there being nine serjeants of that call. The king, to honour the feast, was present with his queen at the dinner; being a prince that was ever ready to grace and countenance the professors of the law; having a little of that, that as he governed his subjects by his laws, so he governed his laws by his lawyers.

This year also the king entered into league with the Italian Potentates for the defence of Italy against France. For King Charles had conquered the realm of Naples, and lost it again, in a kind of felicity of a dream. He passed the whole length of

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Italy without resistance; so that it was true which Pope Alexander was wont to say, That the Frenchmen came into Italy with chalk in their hands, to mark up their lodgings, rather than with swords to fight. He likewise entered and won, in effect, the whole kingdom of Naples itself, without striking stroke. But presently thereupon he did commit and multiply so many errors, as was too great a task for the best fortune to overcome. He gave no contentment to the Barons of Naples, of the faction of the Angeovines; but scattered his rewards according to the mercenary appetites of some about him. He put all Italy upon their guard, by the seizing and holding of Ostia, and the protecting of the liberty of Pisa; which made all men suspect, that his purposes looked farther than his title of Naples. He fell too soon at difference with Ludovico Sfortia, who was the man that carried the keys which brought him in and shut him out. He neglected to extinguish some relicks of the war. And lastly, in regard of his easy passage through Italy without resistance, he entered into an overmuch despising of the arms of the Italians; whereby he left the realm of Naples at his departure so much the less provided. So that not long after his return, the whole kingdom revolted to Ferdinando the younger, and the French were quite driven out. Nevertheless Charles did make both great threats and great preparations to re-enter Italy once again. Wherefore at the instance of divers of the states of Italy, and especially of Pope Alexander, there was a league concluded between the said Pope, Maximilian, King of the Romans,

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Henry, King of England, Ferdinando and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, for so they are constantly placed in the original treaty throughout, Augustino Barbadico, Duke of Venice, and Ludovico Sfortia, Duke of Milan, for the common defence of their estates: wherein though Ferdinando of Naples was not named as principal, yet, no doubt, the kingdom of Naples was tacitly included as a fee of the church.

There died also this year, Cecile, Duchess of York, mother to King Edward the Fourth, at her castle of Berkhamstead, being of extreme years, and who had lived to see three princes of her body crowned, and four murdered. She was buried at Foderingham, by her husband.

This year also the king called his parliament, where many laws were made of a more private and vulgar nature, than ought to detain the reader of an history. And it may be justly suspected by the proceedings following, that as the king did excel in good commonwealth laws, so nevertheless he had, in secret, a design to make use of them, as well for collecting of treasure as for correcting of manners; and so meaning thereby to harrow his people, did accumulate them the rather.

The principal law that was made this parliament, was a law of a strange nature; rather just than legal; and more magnanimous than provident. This law did ordain, That no person that did assist in arms, or otherwise, the king for the time being, should after be impeached therefore, or attainted, either by the course of the law, or by act of parliament. But if any such act of attainder did happen to be made,

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it should be void and of none effect; for that it was agreeable to reason of estate, that the subject should not inquire of the justness of the king's title or quarrel; and it was agreeable to good conscience, that, whatsoever the fortune of the war were, the subject should not suffer for his obedience. The spirit of this law was wonderful pious and noble, being like, in matter of war, unto the spirit of David in matter of plague; who said, "If I have sinned strike me: but what "have these sheep done?" Neither wanted this law parts of prudent and deep foresight; for it did the better take away occasion for the people to busy themselves to pry into the king's title; for that howsoever it fell, their safety was already provided for. Besides, it could not but greatly draw unto him the love and hearts of the people, because he seemed more careful for them than for himself. But yet nevertheless it did take off from his party that great tie and spur of necessity, to fight and go victors out of the field; considering their lives and fortunes were put in safety and protected, whether they stood to it or ran away. But the force and obligation of this law was in itself illusory, as to the latter part of it, by a precedent act of parliament to bind or frustrate a future. For a supreme and absolute power cannot conclude itself, neither can that which is in nature revocable be made fixed, no more than if a man should appoint or declare by his will, that if he made any latter will it should be void. And for the case of the act of parliament, there is a notable precedent of it in King Henry the Eighth's time; who doubting he might die in the minority of his son,

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procured an act to pass, That no statute made during the minority of a king, should bind him or his successors, except it were confirmed by the king under his great seal at his full age. But the first act that passed in King Edward the Sixth's time, was an act of repeal of that former act; at which time nevertheless the king was minor. But things that do not bind, may satisfy for the time.

There was also made a shoaring or underpropping act for the benevolence: to make the sums which any person had agreed to pay, and nevertheless were not brought in, to be leviable by course of law. Which act did not only bring in the arrears, but did indeed countenance the whole business, and was pretended to be made at the desire of those that had been forward to pay.

This parliament also was made that good law, which gave the attaint upon a false verdict between party and party, which before was a kind of evangile, irremediable. It extends not to causes capital, as well because they are for the most part at the king's suit, as because in them, if they be followed in course of indictment, there passeth a double jury, the indictors and the triers; and so not twelve men, but four and twenty. But it seemeth that was not the only reason; for this reason holdeth not in the appeal. But the great reason was, lest it should tend to the discouragement of jurors in cases of life and death; if they should be subject to suit and penalty, where the favour of life maketh against them. It extendeth not also to any suit, where the demand is under the value of forty pounds; for that in such cases of petty

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value it would not quit the charge, to go about again.

There was another law made against a branch of ingratitude in women, who having been advanced by their husbands, or their husbands' ancestors, should alien, and thereby seek to defeat the heirs, or those in remainder, of the lands whereunto they had been so advanced. The remedy was, by giving power to the next, to enter for a forfeiture.

There was also enacted that charitable law, for the admission of poor suitors in forma pauperis, without fee to counsellor, attorney, or clerk, whereby poor men became rather able to vex than unable to sue. There were divers other good laws made that parliament, as we said before; but we still observe our manner, in selecting out those, that are not of a vulgar nature.

The king this while, though he sat in parliament, as in full peace, and seemed to account of the designs of Perkin, who was now returned into Flanders, but as a May-game; yet having the composition of a wise king, stout without, and apprehensive within, had given order for the watching of beacons upon the coasts, and erecting more where they stood too thin, and had a careful eye where this wandering cloud would break. But Perkin, advised to keep his fire, which hitherto burned as it were upon green wood, alive with continual blowing, sailed again into Ireland, whence he had formerly departed, rather upon the hopes of France, than upon any unreadiness or discouragement he found in that people. But in the space of time between, the king's diligence and Poynings' commission had so settled things

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there, as there was nothing left for Perkin, but the blustering affection of wild and naked people. Wherefore he was advised by his council to seek aid of the King of Scotland, a prince young and valorous, and in good terms with his nobles and people, and ill affected to King Henry. At this time also both Maximilian and Charles of France began to bear no good will to the king: the one being displeased with the king's prohibition of commerce with Flanders; the other holding the king for suspect, in regard of his late entry into league with the Italians. Wherefore, besides the open aids of the Duchess of Burgundy, which did with sails and oars put on and advance Perkin's designs, there wanted not some secret tides from Maximilian and Charles, which did further his fortunes: insomuch as they, both by their secret letters and messages, recommended him to the King of Scotland.

Perkin therefore coming into Scotland upon those hopes, with a well-appointed company, was by the King of Scots, being formerly well prepared, honourably welcomed, and soon after his arrival admitted to his presence, in a solemn manner: for the king received him in state in his chamber of presence, accompanied with divers of his nobles. And Perkin well attended, as well with those that the king had sent before him, as with his own train, entered the room where the king was, and coming near to the king, and bowing a little to embrace him, he retired some paces back, and with a loud voice, that all that were present might hear him, made his declaration in this manner:

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" High and mighty king, your grace, and these " your nobles here present, may be pleased benignly " to bow your ears, to hear the tragedy of a young " man, that by right ought to hold in his hand the " ball of a kingdom; but by fortune is made himself " a ball, tossed from misery to misery, and from " place to place. You see here before you the spec- " tacle of a Plantagenet, who hath been carried from " the nursery to the sanctuary; from the sanctuary " to the direful prison; from the prison to the hand of " the cruel tormentor; and from that hand to the wide " wilderness, as I may truly call it, for so the world " hath been to me. So that he that is born to a great " kingdom, hath not ground to set his foot upon, " more than this where he now standeth by your " princely favour. Edward the Fourth, late King of " of England, as your grace cannot but have heard, " left two sons, Edward, and Richard, Duke of York, " both very young. Edward the eldest succeeded " their father in the crown, by the name of King " Edward the Fifth: but Richard, Duke of Glouces- " ter, their unnatural uncle, first thirsting after the " kingdom through ambition, and afterwards thirst- " ing for their blood, out of desire to secure himself, " employed an instrument of his, confident to him, as " he thought, to murder them both. But this man " that was employed to execute that execrable tra- " gedy, having cruelly slain King Edward, the eldest " of the two, was moved partly by remorse, and " partly by some other mean, to save Richard his " brother; making a report nevertheless to the " tyrant, that he had performed his commandment

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" for both brethren. This report was accordingly " believed, and published generally; so that the " world hath been possessed of an opinion, that they " both were barbarously made away; though ever truth hath some sparks that fly abroad, until it appear in due time, as this hath had. But Almighty " God, that stopped the mouth of the lion, and saved " little Joash from the tyranny of Athaliah, when " she massacred the king's children; and did save " Isaac, when the hand was stretched forth to sacri- " fice him; preserved the second brother. For I " myself, that stand here in your presence, am that " very Richard, Duke of York, brother of that un- " fortunate prince, King Edward the Fifth, now the " most rightful surviving heir male to that victorious " and most noble Edward, of that name the fourth, " late King of England. For the manner of my " escape, it is fit it should pass in silence, or at least " in a more secret relation; for that it may concern " some alive, and the memory of some that are dead. " Let it suffice to think, that I had then a mother " living, a queen, and one that expected daily such " a commandment from the tyrant, for the murder- " ing of her children. Thus in my tender age " escaping by God's mercy out of London, I was " secretly conveyed over sea; where after a time " the party that had me in charge, upon what " new fears, change of mind, or practice, God " knoweth, suddenly forsook me. Whereby I was " forced to wander abroad, and to seek mean condi- " tions for the sustaining of my life. Wherefore

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" distracted between several passions, the one of fear
" to be known, lest the tyrant should have a new
" attempt upon me; the other of grief and disdain
" to be unknown, and to live in that base and servile
" manner that I did; I resolved with myself to ex-
" pect the tyrant's death, and then to put myself
" into my sister's hands, who was next heir to the
" crown. But in this season it happened one Henry
" Tudor, son to Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond,
" to come from France and enter into the realm, and
" by subtile and foul means to obtain the crown of
" the same, which to me rightfully appertained: so
" that it was but a change from tyrant to tyrant.
" This Henry, my extreme and mortal enemy, so
" soon as he had knowledge of my being alive,
" imagined and wrought all the subtile ways and
" means he could to procure my final destruction;
" for my mortal enemy hath not only falsely sur-
" mised me to be a feigned person, giving me nick-
" names, so abusing the world; but also, to defer
" and put me from entry into England, hath offered
" large sums of money to corrupt the princes and
" their ministers, with whom I have been retained;
" and made importune labours to certain servants
" about my person, to murder or poison me, and
" others to forsake and leave my righteous quarrel,
" and to depart from my service, as Sir Robert
" Clifford, and others. So that every man of reason
" may well perceive, that Henry, calling himself
" King of England, needed not to have bestowed
" such great sums of treasure, nor so to have busied

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" himself with importune and incessant labour and " industry, to compass my death and ruin, if I had " been such a feigned person. But the truth of my " cause being so manifest, moved the most Christian " King Charles, and the lady Duchess Dowager of " Burgundy, my most dear aunt, not only to ac- " knowledge the truth thereof, but lovingly to assist " me. But it seemeth that God above, for the good " of this whole island, and the knitting of these two " kingdoms of England and Scotland in a strait " concord and amity, by so great an obligation, " hath reserved the placing of me in the imperial " throne of England for the arms and succours " of your grace. Neither is it the first time that a " King of Scotland hath supported them that were " bereft and spoiled of the kingdom of England, as " of late, in fresh memory, it was done in the person " of Henry the Sixth. Wherefore, for that your grace " hath given clear signs, that you are in no noble " quality inferior to your royal ancestors, I, so dis- " tressed a prince, was hereby moved to come and " put myself into your royal hands, desiring your " assistance to recover my kingdom of England; " promising faithfully to bear myself towards your " grace no otherwise, than if I were your own na- " tural brother; and will, upon the recovery of mine " inheritance, gratefully do you all the pleasure that " is in my utmost power."

After Perkin had told his tale, King James answered bravely and wisely; " That whatsoever he " were, he should not repent him of putting him-

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"self into his hands." And from that time forth, though there wanted not some about him, that would have persuaded him that all was but an illusion; yet notwithstanding, either taken by Perkin's amiable and alluring behaviour, or inclining to the recommendation of the great princes abroad, or willing to take an occasion of a war against King Henry, he entertained him in all things, as became the person of Richard, Duke of York; embraced his quarrel; and, the more to put it out of doubt, that he took him to be a great prince, and not a representation only, he gave consent that this duke should take to wife the Lady Catharine Gordon, daughter to the Earl of Huntley, being a near kinswoman to the king himself, and a young virgin of excellent beauty and virtue.

Not long after, the King of Scots in person, with Perkin in his company, entered with a great army, though it consisted chiefly of borderers, being raised somewhat suddenly, into Northumberland. And Perkin, for a perfume before him as he went, caused to be published a proclamation* of this tenor following, in the name of Richard, Duke of York, true inheritor of the crown of England:

"It hath pleased God, who putteth down the "mighty from their seat, and exalteth the humble, "and suffereth not the hopes of the just to perish

* The original of this proclamation remaineth with Sir Robert Cotton, a worthy preserver and treasurer of rare antiquities: from whose manuscripts I have had much light for the furnishing of this work.

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" in the end, to give us means at the length to show " ourselves armed unto our lieges and people of " England. But far be it from us to intend their " hurt or damage, or to make war upon them, other- " wise than to deliver ourself and them from tyranny " and oppression. For our mortal enemy Henry " Tudor, a false usurper of the crown of England " which to us by natural and lineal right appertain- " eth, knowing in his own heart our undoubted right, " we being the very Richard, Duke of York, younger " son, and now surviving heir male of the noble and " victorious Edward the Fourth, late King of Eng- " land, hath not only deprived us of our kingdom, " but likewise, by all foul and wicked means, sought " to betray us, and bereave us of our life. Yet if " his tyranny only extended itself to our person, " although our royal blood teacheth us to be sensi- " ble of injuries, it should be less to our grief. But " this Tudor, who boasteth himself to have over- " thrown a tyrant, hath, ever since his first entrance " into his usurped reign, put little in practice, but " tyranny and the feats thereof.

" For King Richard, our unnatural uncle, although " desire of rule did blind him, yet in his other actions, " like a true Plantagenet, was noble, and loved the " honour of the realm, and the contentment and " comfort of his nobles and people. But this our " mortal enemy, agreeable to the meanness of his " birth, hath trodden under foot the honour of " this nation: selling our best confederates for " money, and making merchandize of the blood, " estates, and fortunes of our peers and subjects,

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" by feigned wars and dishonourable peace, only to " enrich his coffers. Nor unlike hath been his " hateful misgovernment and evil deportments at " home. First, he hath, to fortify his false quarrel, " caused divers nobles of this our realm, whom he " held suspect and stood in dread of, to be cruelly " murdered; as our cousin Sir William Stanley, " lord chamberlain, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Ro- " bert Ratcliffe, William D'Aubigny, Humphrey " Stafford, and many others, besides such as have " dearly bought their lives with intolerable ran- " soms: some of which nobles are now in the " sanctuary. Also he hath long kept, and yet " keepeth in prison, our right entirely well- " beloved cousin, Edward, son and heir to our " uncle Duke of Clarence, and others; withholding " from them their rightful inheritance, to the intent " they should never be of might and power, to aid " and assist us at our need, after the duty of their " legiances. He also married by compulsion, cer- " tain of our sisters, and also the sister of our said " cousin the Earl of Warwick, and divers other ladies " of the royal blood, unto certain of his kinsmen and " friends of simple and low degree; and, putting " apart all well disposed nobles, he hath none in " favour and trust about his person, but Bishop " Fox, Smith, Bray, Lovel, Oliver King, David " Owen, Risely, Turbervile, Tiler, Chomley, Emp- " son, James Hobart, John Cut, Garth, Henry Wyat, " and such other caitiffs and villains of birth, which " by subtile inventions, and pilling of the people, have been the principal finders, occasioners, and

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" counsellors of the misrule and mischief now reign-
" ing in England.

" We remembering these premises, with the
" great and execrable offences daily committed and
" done by our foresaid great enemy and his adhe-
" rents, in breaking the liberties and franchises of
" our mother the holy church, upon pretences of
" wicked and heathenish policy, to the high displea-
" sure of Almighty God, besides the manifold trea-
" sons, abominable murders, manslaughters, rob-
" beries, extortions, the daily pilling of the people by
" dismes, taxes, tallages, benevolences, and other
" unlawful impositions, and grievous exactions, with
" many other heinous effects, to the likely destruc-
" tion and desolation of the whole realm; shall by
" God's grace, and the help and assistance of the
" great lords of our blood, with the counsel of other
" sad persons, see that the commodities of our realm
" be employed to the most advantage of the same;
" the intercourse of merchandise betwixt realm and
" realm to be ministered and handled as shall
" more be to the common weal and prosperity of
" our subjects; and all such dismes, taxes, tallages,
" benevolences, unlawful impositions, and grievous
" exactions, as be above rehearsed, to be foredone
" and laid apart, and never from henceforth to be
" called upon, but in such cases as our noble proge-
" nitors, Kings of England, have of old time been
" accustomed to have the aid, succour, and help of
" their subjects, and true liege-men.

" And further, we do, out of our grace and cle-

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" mency, hereby as well publish and promise to all " our subjects remission and free pardon of all by- " past offences whatsoever, against our person or " estate, in adhering to our said enemy, by whom, " we know well, they have been misled, if they shall " within time convenient submit themselves unto us. " And for such as shall come with the foremost to " assist our righteous quarrel, we shall make them " so far partakers of our princely favour and bounty, " as shall be highly for the comfort of them and " theirs, both during their life and after their death: " as also we shall, by all means which God shall put " into our hands, demean ourselves to give royal " contentment to all degrees and estates of our " people, maintaining the liberties of holy church " in their entire, preserving the honours, privileges, " and pre-eminences of our nobles, from contempt or " disparagement according to the dignity of their " blood. We shall also unyoke our people from all " heavy burdens and endurances, and confirm our " cities, boroughs and towns, in their charters and " freedoms, with enlargement where it shall be de- " served; and in all points give our subjects cause to " think, that the blessed and debonair government " of our noble father King Edward, in his last times, " is in us revived.

" And forasmuch as the putting to death, or " taking alive of our said mortal enemy, may be a " mean to stay much effusion of blood, which other- " wise may ensue, if by compulsion or fair promises " he shall draw after him any number of our sub-

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" jects to resist us, which we desire to avoid, though we " be certainly informed, that our said enemy is pur- " posed and prepared to fly the land, having already " made over great masses of the treasure of our " crown, the better to support him in foreign parts, " we do hereby declare, that whosoever shall take " or distress our said enemy, though the party be of " never so mean a condition, he shall be by us re- " warded with a thousand pound in money, forth- " with to be laid down to him, and an hundred " marks by the year of inheritance; besides that he " may otherwise merit, both toward God and all " good people, for the destruction of such a tyrant.

" Lastly, we do all men to wit, and herein we " take also God to witness, that whereas God hath " moved the heart of our dearest cousin, the King " of Scotland, to aid us in person in this our righte- " ous quarrel; it is altogether without any pact or " promise, or so much as demand of any thing that " may prejudice our crown or subjects: but contra- " riwise, with promise on our said cousin's part, that " whensoever he shall find us in sufficient strength " to get the upper hand of our enemy, which we " hope will be very suddenly, he will forthwith " peaceably return into his own kingdom; content- " ing himself only with the glory of so honourable " an enterprise, and our true and faithful love and " amity; which we shall ever, by the grace of " Almighty God, so order, as shall be to the great " comfort of both kingdoms."

But Perkin's proclamation did little edify with

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the people of England; neither was he the better welcome for the company he came in. Wherefore the King of Scotland seeing none came in to Perkin, nor none stirred any where in his favour, turned his enterprise into a rode; and wasted and destroyed the country of Northumberland with fire and sword. But hearing that there were forces coming against him, and not willing that they should find his men heavy and laden with booty, he returned into Scotland, with great spoils, deferring further prosecution till another time. It is said, that Perkin, acting the part of a prince handsomely, when he saw the Scottish fell to waste the country, came to the king in a passionate manner, making great lamentation, and desired, that that might not be the manner of making the war; for that no crown was so dear to his mind as that he desired to purchase it with the blood and ruin of his country. Whereunto the king answered half in sport, that he doubted much, he was careful for that that was none of his, and that he should be too good a steward for his enemy, to save the country to his use.

By this time, being the eleventh year of the king, the interruption of trade between the English and the Flemish began to pinch the merchants of both nations very sore; which moved them by all means they could devise, to affect and dispose their sovereigns respectively, to open the intercourse again; wherein time favoured them. For the archduke and his council began to see, that Perkin would prove but a runagate and a citizen of the world: and that

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it was the part of children to fall out about babies. And the king on his part, after the attempts upon Kent and Northumberland, began to have the business of Perkin in less estimation; so as he did not put it to account in any consultation of state. But that that moved him most was, that being a king that loved wealth and treasure, he could not endure to have trade sick, nor any obstruction to continue in the gate-vein which disperseth that blood. And yet he kept state so far, as first to be sought unto. Wherein the merchant-adventurers likewise, being a strong company at that time, and well under-set with rich men, and good order, did hold out bravely; taking off the commodities of the kingdom, though they lay dead upon their hands for want of vent. At the last, commissioners met at London to treat: on the King's part, Bishop Fox, lord privy seal, Viscount Wells, Kendal, prior of Saint John's, Warham, master of the rolls, who began to gain much upon the king's opinion; Urswick, who was almost ever one; and Risely: on the archduke's part, the Lord Bevers, his admiral; the Lord Verunsel, president of Flanders, and others. These concluded a perfect treaty, both of amity and intercourse, between the king and the archduke; containing articles both of state, commerce, and free fishing. This is that treaty which the Flemings call at this day "intercursus magnus;" both because it is more complete than the precedent treaties of the third and fourth year of the king; and chiefly to give it a difference from the treaty that followed in the

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one and twentieth year of the king, which they call "intercursus malus." In this treaty, there was an express article against the reception of the rebels of either prince by other; purporting, That if any such rebel should be required, by the prince whose rebel he was, of the prince confederate, that forthwith the prince confederate should by proclamation command him to avoid the country: which if he did not within fifteen days, the rebel was to stand proscribed, and put out of protection. But nevertheless in this article Perkin was not named, neither perhaps contained, because he was no rebel. But by this means his wings were clipt of his followers that were English. And it was expressly comprised in the treaty, that it should extend to the territories of the duchess dowager. After the intercourse thus restored, the English merchants came again to their mansion at Antwerp, where they were received with procession and great joy.

The winter following, being the twelfth year of his reign, the king called again his parliament; where he did much exaggerate both the malice and the cruel predatory war lately made by the King of Scotland: That the king, being in amity with him, and no ways provoked, should so burn in hatred towards him, as to drink of the lees and dregs of Perkin's intoxication, who was every where else detected and discarded: and that when he perceived it was out of his reach to do the king any hurt, he had turned his arms upon unarmed and unprovided people, to spoil only and depopulate, contrary to the

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laws both of war and peace: concluding, that he could neither with honour, nor with the safety of his people, to whom he did owe protection, let pass these wrongs unrevenged. The parliament understood him well, and gave him a subsidy, limited to the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, besides two fifteens: for his wars were always to him as a mine of treasure of a strange kind of ore; iron at the top, and gold and silver at the bottom. At this parliament, for that there had been so much time spent in making laws the year before, and for that it was called purposely in respect of the Scottish war, there were no laws made to be remembered. Only there passed a law, at the suit of the merchant-adventurers of England, against the merchant-adventurers of London, for monopolizing and exacting upon the trade; which it seemeth they did a little to save themselves after the hard time they had sustained by want of trade. But those innovations were taken away by parliament.

But it was fatal to the king to fight for his money; and though he avoided to fight with enemies abroad, yet he was still enforced to fight for it with rebels at home: for no sooner began the subsidy to be levied in Cornwall, but the people there began to grudge and murmur. The Cornish being a race of men, stout of stomach, mighty of body and limb, and that lived hardly in a barren country, and many of them could, for a need, live under ground, that were tinners. They muttered extremely, that it was a thing not to be suffered, that for a little stir

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of the Scots, soon blown over, they should be thus grinded to powder with payments; and said it was for them to pay that had too much, and lived idly. But they would eat their bread that they got with the sweat of their brows, and no man should take it from them. And as in the tides of people once up, there want not commonly stirring winds to make them more rough; so this people did light upon two ringleaders or captains of the rout. The one was one Michael Joseph, a blacksmith or farrier, of Bodmin, a notable talking fellow, and no less desirous to be talked of. The other was Thomas Flammock, a lawyer, who, by telling his neighbours commonly upon any occasion that the law was on their side, had gotten great sway amongst them. This man talked learnedly, and as if he could tell how to make a rebellion, and never break the peace. He told the people, that subsidies were not to be granted, nor levied in this case; that is, for wars of Scotland: for that the law had provided another course, by service of escuage, for those journeys; much less when all was quiet, and war was made but a pretence to poll and pill the people. And therefore that it was good they should not stand like sheep before the shearers, but put on harness, and take weapons in their hands. Yet to do no creature hurt; but go and deliver the king a strong petition for the laying down of those grievous payments, and for the punishment of those that had given him that counsel; to make others beware how they did the like in time to come. And said, for his part he did not see how they could do

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the duty of true Englishmen, and good liege-men, except they did deliver the king from such wicked ones, that would destroy both him and the country. Their aim was at Archbishop Morton and Sir Reginald Bray, who were the king's screens in this envy.

After that these two, Flammock and the blacksmith, had by joint and several pratings found tokens of consent in the multitude, they offered themselves to lead them, until they should hear of better men to be their leaders, which they said would be ere long: telling them further, that they would be but their servants, and first in every danger; but doubted not but to make both the west-end and the east-end of England to meet in so good a quarrel; and that all, rightly understood, was but for the king's service. The people upon these seditious instigations, did arm, most of them with bows and arrows, and bills, and such other weapons of rude and country people, and forthwith under the command of their leaders, which in such cases is ever at pleasure, marched out of Cornwall through Devonshire unto Taunton in Somersetshire, without any slaughter, violence, or spoil of the country. At Taunton they killed in fury an officious and eager commissioner for the subsidy, whom they called the Provost of Perin. Thence they marched to Wells, where the Lord Audley, with whom their leaders had before some secret intelligence, a nobleman of an ancient family, but unquiet and popular, and aspiring to ruin, came in to them, and was by them, with great gladness and cries of joy, accepted as their general; they

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being now proud that they were led by a nobleman. The Lord Audley led them on from Wells to Salisbury, and from Salisbury to Winchester. Thence the foolish people, who, in effect, lead their leaders, had a mind to be led into Kent, fancying that the people there would join with them; contrary to all reason or judgement, considering the Kentish men had shewed great loyalty and affection to the king so lately before. But the rude people had heard Flammock say, that Kent was never conquered, and that they were the freest people of England. And upon these vain noises, they looked for great matters at their hands, in a cause which they conceited to be for the liberty of the subject. But when they were come into Kent, the country was so well settled, both by the king's late kind usage towards them, and by the credit and power of the Earl of Kent, the Lord Abergavenny, and the Lord Cobham, as neither gentleman nor yeoman came in to their aid, which did much damp and dismay many of the simpler sort; insomuch as divers of them did secretly fly from the army, and went home: but the sturdier sort, and those that were most engaged, stood by it, and rather waxed proud, than failed in hopes and courage. For as it did somewhat appall them, that the people came not in to them, so it did no less encourage them, that the king's forces had not set upon them, having marched from the west unto the east of England. Wherefore they kept on their way, and encamped upon Blackheath, between Greenwich and Eltham, threatening either

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to bid battle to the king, for now the seas went higher than to Morton and Bray, or to take London within his view; imagining with themselves, there to find no less fear than wealth.

But to return to the king. When first he heard of this commotion of the Cornish men occasioned by the subsidy, he was much troubled therewith; not for itself, but in regard of the concurrence of other dangers that did hang over him at that time. For he doubted lest a war from Scotland, a rebellion from Cornwall, and the practices and conspiracies of Perkin and his partakers, would come upon him at once: knowing well, that it was a dangerous triplicity to a monarchy, to have the arms of a foreigner, the discontents of subjects, and the title of a pretender to meet. Nevertheless the occasion took him in some part well provided. For as soon as the parliament had broken up, the king had presently raised a puissant army to war upon Scotland. And King James of Scotland likewise, on his part, had made great preparations, either for defence, or for new assailing of England. But as for the king's forces, they were not only in preparation, but in readiness presently to set forth, under the conduct of D'Aubigny the lord chamberlain. But as soon as the king understood of the rebellion of Cornwall, he stayed those forces, retaining them for his own service and safety. But therewithal he dispatched the Earl of Surrey into the north, for the defence and strength of those parts, in case the Scots should stir. But for the course he held towards the rebels, it

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was utterly differing from his former custom and practice: which was ever full of forwardness and celerity to make head against them, or to set upon them as soon as ever they were in action. This he was wont to do. But now, besides that he was attempered by years, and less in love with dangers, by the continued fruition of a crown; it was a time when the various appearance to his thoughts of perils of several natures, and from divers parts, did make him judge it his best and surest way, to keep his strength together in the seat and centre of his kingdom: according to the ancient Indian emblem, in such a swelling season, to hold the hand upon the middle of the bladder, that no side might rise. Besides, there was no necessity put upon him to alter his counsel. For neither did the rebels spoil the country, in which case it had been dishonour to abandon his people; neither on the other side did their forces gather or increase, which might hasten him to precipitate and assail them before they grew too strong. And lastly, both reason of estate and war seemed to agree with this course: for that insurrections of base people are commonly more furious in their beginnings. And by this means also he had them the more at vantage, being tired and harassed with a long march; and more at mercy, being cut off far from their country, and therefore not able by any sudden flight to get to retreat, and to renew the troubles.

When therefore the rebels were encamped on Blackheath, upon the hill, whence they might behold

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the city of London, and the fair valley about it; the king knowing well, that it stood him upon, by how much the more he had hitherto protracted the time in not encountering them, by so much the sooner to dispatch with them, that it might appear to have been no coldness in fore-slowing, but wisdom in choosing his time; resolved with all speed to assail them, and yet with that providence and surety, as should leave little to venture or fortune. And having very great and puissant forces about him, the better to master all events and accidents, he divided them into three parts; the first was led by the Earl of Oxford in chief, assisted by the earls of Essex and Suffolk. These noblemen were appointed, with some cornets of horse, and bands of foot, and good store of artillery, wheeling about to put themselves beyond the hill where the rebels were encamped; and to beset all the skirts and descents thereof, except those that lay towards London; thereby to have these wild beasts, as it were, in a toil. The second part of his forces, which were those that were to be most in action, and upon which he relied most for the fortune of the day, he did assign to be led by the lord chamberlain, who was appointed to set upon the rebels in front, from that side which is towards London. The third part of his forces, being likewise great and brave forces, he retained about himself, to be ready upon all events to restore the fight, or consummate the victory; and mean while to secure the city. And for that purpose he encamped in person in Saint George's Fields, putting

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himself between the city and the rebels. But the city of London, especially at the first, upon the near encamping of the rebels, was in great tumult: as it useth to be with wealthy and populous cities, especially those which being for greatness and fortune queens of their regions, who seldom see out of their windows, or from their towers, an army of enemies. But that which troubled them most, was the conceit, that they dealt with a rout of people, with whom there was no composition or condition, or orderly treating, if need were; but likely to be bent altogether upon rapine and spoil. And although they had heard that the rebels had behaved themselves quietly and modestly by the way as they went; yet they doubted much that would not last, but rather make them more hungry, and more in appetite to fall upon spoil in the end. Wherefore there was great running to and fro of people, some to the gates, some to the walls, some to the water-side; giving themselves alarms and panic fears continually. Nevertheless both Tate, the lord mayor, and Shaw and Haddon the sheriffs, did their parts, stoutly and well, in arming and ordering the people. And the king likewise did adjoin some captains of experience in the wars, to advise and assist the citizens. But soon after, when they understood that the king had so ordered the matter, that the rebels must win three battles, before they could approach the city, and that he had put his own person between the rebels and them, and that the great care was, rather how to impound the rebels that none of them might

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escape, than that any doubt was made to vanquish them; they grew to be quiet and out of fear; the rather, for the confidence they reposed, which was not small, in the three leaders, Oxford, Essex, and D'Aubigny; all men well famed and loved amongst the people. As for Jasper, Duke of Bedford, whom the king used to employ with the first in his wars, he was then sick, and died soon after.

It was the two and twentieth of June, and a Saturday, which was the day of the week the king fancied, when the battle was fought: though the king had, by all the art he could devise, given out a false day, as if he prepared to give the rebels battle on the Monday following, the better to find them unprovided, and in disarray. The lords that were appointed to circle the hill, had some days before planted themselves, as at the receipt, in places convenient. In the afternoon, towards the decline of the day, which was done, the better to keep the rebels in opinion that they should not fight that day, the Lord D'Aubigny marched on towards them, and first beat some troops of them from Deptford-bridge, where they fought manfully; but, being in no great number, were soon driven back, and fled up to their main army upon the hill. The army at that time, hearing of the approach of the king's forces, were putting themselves in array, not without much confusion. But neither had they placed, upon the first high ground towards the bridge, any forces to second the troops below, that kept the bridge; neither had they brought forwards their main battle,

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which stood in array far into the heath, near to the ascent of the hill. So that the earl with his forces mounted the hill, and recovered the plain without resistance. The Lord D'Aubigny charged them with great fury; insomuch as it had like, by accident, to have brandled the fortune of the day: for, by inconsiderate forwardness in fighting in the head of his troops, he was taken by the rebels, but immediately rescued and delivered. The rebels maintained the fight for a small time, and for their persons shewed no want of courage; but being ill armed, and ill led, and without horse or artillery, they were with no great difficulty cut in pieces, and put to flight. And for their three leaders, the Lord Audley, the blacksmith, and Flammock, as commonly the captains of commotions are but half-couraged men, suffered themselves to be taken alive. The number slain on the rebels' part were some two thousand men; their army amounting, as it is said, unto the number of sixteen thousand. The rest were, in effect, all taken; for that the hill, as was said, was encompassed with the king's forces round about. On the king's part there died about three hundred, most of them shot with arrows, which were reported to be of the length of a taylor's yard; so strong and mighty a bow the Cornish men were said to draw.

The victory thus obtained, the king created divers bannerets, as well upon Blackheath, where his lieutenant had won the field, whither he rode in person to perform the said creation, as in St.

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George's Fields, where his own person had been encamped. And for matter of liberality, he did, by open edict, give the goods of all the prisoners unto those that had taken them; either to take them in kind, or compound for them, as they could. After matter of honour and liberality, followed matter of severity and execution. The Lord Audley was led from Newgate to Tower-Hill, in a paper coat painted with his own arms; the arms reversed, the coat torn, and at Tower-Hill beheaded. Flammock and the blacksmith were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn: the blacksmith taking pleasure upon the hurdle, as it seemeth by words that he uttered, to think that he should be famous in after-times. The king was once in mind to have sent down Flammock and the blacksmith to have been executed in Cornwall, for the more terror; but being advertised that the country was yet unquiet and boiling, he thought better not to irritate the people further. All the rest were pardoned by proclamation, and to take out their pardons under seal, as many as would. So that, more than the blood drawn in the field, the king did satisfy himself with the lives of only three offenders, for the expiation of this great rebellion.

It was a strange thing to observe the variety and inequality of the king's executions and pardons; and a man would think it, at the first, a kind of lottery or chance. But, looking into it more nearly, one shall find there was reason for it, much more,

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perhaps, than after so long a distance of time we can now discern. In the Kentish commotion, which was but an handful of men, there were executed to the number of one hundred and fifty; but in this so mighty a rebellion, but three. Whether it were that the king put to account the men that were slain in the field, or that he was not willing to be severe in a popular cause, or that the harmless behaviour of this people, that came from the west of England to the east, without mischief almost, or spoil of the country, did somewhat mollify him, and move him to compassion; or lastly, that he made a great difference between people that did rebel upon wantonness, and them that did rebel upon want.

After the Cornish men were defeated, there came from Calais to the king an honourable embassage from the French king, which had arrived at Calais a month before, and there was stayed in respect of the troubles, but honourably entertained and defrayed. The king, at their first coming, sent unto them, and prayed them to have patience, till a little smoke, that was raised in his country, were over; which would soon be: slighting, as his manner was, that openly, which nevertheless he intended seriously.

This embassage concerned no great affair, but only the prolongation of days for payment of moneys, and some other particulars of the frontiers. And it was, indeed, but a wooing embassage, with

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good respects to entertain the king in good affection; but nothing was done or handled to the derogation of the king's late treaty with the Italians.

But during the time that the Cornish men were in their march towards London, the King of Scotland, well advertised of all that passed, and knowing himself sure of a war from England, whensoever those stirs were appeased, neglected not his opportunity; but thinking the king had his hands full, entered the frontiers of England again with an army, and besieged the castle of Norham in person, with part of his forces, sending the rest to forage the country. But Fox, Bishop of Duresme, a wise man, and one that could see through the present to the future, doubting as much before, had caused his castle of Norham to be strongly fortified, and furnished with all kind of munition; and had manned it likewise with a very great number of tall soldiers, more than for the proportion of the castle, reckoning rather upon a sharp assault, than a long siege. And for the country likewise, he had caused the poople to withdraw their cattle and goods into fast places, that were not of easy approach; and sent in post to the Earl of Surrey, who was not far off, in Yorkshire, to come in diligence to the succour. So as the Scottish King both failed of doing good upon the castle, and his men had but a catching harvest of their spoils; and when he understood that the Earl of Surrey was coming on with great forces, he returned back into Scotland. The earl, finding the castle freed, and the enemy retired, pursued with

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all celerity into Scotland, hoping to have overtaken the Scottish King, and to have given him battle; but, not attaining him in time, sat down before the castle of Ayton, one of the strongest places, then esteemed, between Berwick and Edinburgh, which in a small time he took. And soon after, the Scottish King retiring farther into his country, and the weather being extraordinary foul and stormy, the earl returned into England. So that the expeditions on both parts were, in effect, but a castle taken, and a castle distressed; not answerable to the puissance of the forces, nor to the heat of the quarrel, nor to the greatness of the expectation.

Amongst these troubles, both civil and external, came into England from Spain, Peter Hialas, some call him Elias, surely he was the forerunner of the good hap that we enjoy at this day; for his embassage set the truce between England and Scotland; the truce drew on the peace; the peace the marriage; and the marriage the union of the kingdoms; a man of great wisdom, and, as those times were, not unlearned; sent from Ferdinando and Isabella, Kings of Spain, unto the king, to treat a marriage between Catharine, their second daughter, and Prince Arthur. This treaty was by him set in a very good way, and almost brought to perfection. But it so fell out by the way, that upon some conferences which he had with the king touching this business, the king, who had a great dexterity in getting suddenly into the bosom of ambassadors of foreign princes, if he liked the men; ins-

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would many times communicate with them of his own affairs, yea, and employ them in his service, fell into speech and discourse incidently, concerning the ending of the debates and differences with Scotland. For the king naturally did not love the barren wars with Scotland, though he made his profit of the noise of them. And he wanted not in the council of Scotland, those that would advise their king to meet him at the half way, and to give over the war with England; pretending to be good patriots, but indeed favouring the affairs of the king. Only his heart was too great to begin with Scotland for the motion of peace. On the other side, he had met with an ally of Ferdinando of Arragon, as fit for his turn as could be. For after that King Ferdinando had, upon assured confidence of the marriage to succeed, taken upon him the person of a fraternal ally to the king, he would not let, in a Spanish gravity, to counsel the king in his own affairs. And the king on his part, not being wanting to himself, but making use of every man's humours, made his advantage of this in such things as he thought either not decent, or not pleasant to proceed from himself; putting them off as done by the counsel of Ferdinando. Wherefore he was content that Hialis, as in a matter moved and advised from Hialis himself, should go into Scotland, to treat of a concord between the two kings. Hialas took it upon him, and coming to the Scottish king, after he had with much art brought King James to hearken to the more safe and quiet counsels, wrote unto the king,

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that he hoped that peace would with no great difficulty cement and close, if he would send some wise and temperate counsellor of his own, that might treat of the conditions. Whereupon the king directed Bishop Fox, who at that time was at his castle of Norham, to confer with Hialas, and they both to treat with some commissioners deputed from the Scottish King. The commissioners on both sides met. But after much dispute upon the articles and conditions of peace, propounded upon either part, they could not conclude a peace. The chief impediment thereof was the demand of the king to have Perkin delivered into his hands, as a reproach to all kings and a person not protected by the law of nations. The King of Scotland, on the other side, peremptorily denied so to do, saying, that he, for his part, was no competent judge of Perkin's title: but that he had received him as a suppliant, protected him as a person fled for refuge, espoused him with his kinswoman, and aided him with his arms, upon the belief that he was a prince; and therefore that he could not now with his honour so unrip, and, in a sort, put a lie upon all that he had said and done before, as to deliver him up to his enemies. The bishop likewise, who had certain proud instructions from the king, at the least in the front, though there were a pliant clause at the foot, that remitted all to the bishop's discretion, and required him by no means to break off in ill terms, after that he had failed to obtain the delivery of Perkin, did move a second point of his instructions,

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which was, that the Scottish king would give the king an interview in person at Newcastle. But this being reported to the Scottish king, his answer was, that he meant to treat a peace, and not to go a begging for it. The bishop also, according to another article of his instructions, demanded restitution of the spoils taken by the Scottish, or damages for the same. But the Scottish commismissioners answered, that that was but as water spilt upon the ground, which could not be gotten up again; and that the king's people were better able to bear the loss than their master to repair it. But in the end, as persons capable of reason, on both sides they made rather a kind of recess than a breach of treaty, and concluded upon a truce for some months following. But the King of Scotland, though he would not formally retract his judgement of Perkin, wherein he had engaged himself so far; yet in his private opinion, upon often speech with the Englishmen, and divers other advertisements, began to suspect him for a counterfeit. Wherefore in a noble fashion he called him unto him, and recounted the benefits and favours that he had done him in making him his ally, and in provoking a mighty and opulent king by an offensive war in his quarrel, for the space of two years together; nay more, that he had refused an honourable peace, whereof he had a fair offer, if he would have delivered him; and that, to keep his promise with him, he had deeply offended both his nobles and people whom he might not hold in any long discontent; and therefore required him

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to think of his own fortunes, and to choose out some fitter place for his exile: telling him withal, that he could not say, but the English had forsaken him before the Scottish, for that, upon two several trials, none had declared themselves on his side; but nevertheless he would make good what he said to him at his first receiving, which was that he should not repent him for putting himself into his hands; for that he would not cast him off, but help him with shipping and means to transport him where he should desire. Perkin, not descending at all from his stage-like greatness, answered the king in few words, that he saw his time was not yet come; but whatsoever his fortunes were, he should both think and speak honour of the king. Taking his leave, he would not think on Flanders, doubting it was but hollow ground for him since the treaty of the archduke, concluded the year before; but took his lady, and such followers as would not leave him, and sailed over into Ireland.

This twelfth year of the king, a little before this time, Pope Alexander, who loved best those princes that were furthest off, and with whom he had least to do, taking very thankfully the king's late entrance into league for the defence of Italy, did remunerate him with an hallowed sword and cap of maintenance, sent by his nuncio. Pope Innocent had done the like, but it was not received in that glory: for the king appointed the mayor and his brethren to meet the pope's orator at London-bridge, and all the streets between the bridge-foot and the palace of Pauls,

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where the king then lay, were garnished with the citizens, standing in their liveries. And the morrow after, being Allhallows-day, the king, attended with many of his prelates, nobles, and principal courtiers, went in procession to Pauls, and the cap and sword were borne before him. And after the procession, the king himself remaining seated in the quire, the lord archbishop, upon the greece of the quire, made a long oration; setting forth the greatness and eminency of that honour which the pope, in these ornaments and ensigns of benediction, had done the king; and how rarely, and upon what high deserts they used to be bestowed: and then recited the king's principal acts and merits, which had made him appear worthy, in the eyes of his holiness of this great honour.

All this while the rebellion of Cornwall, whereof we have spoken, seemed to have no relation to Perkin; save that perhaps Perkin's proclamation had stricken upon the right vein, in promising to lay down exactions and payments, and so had made them now and then have a kind thought on Perkin. But now these bubbles by much stirring began to meet, as they use to do upon the top of water. The king's lenity, by that time the Cornish rebels, who were taken and pardoned, and, as it was said, many of them sold by them that had taken them, for twelve pence and two shillings a piece, were come down into their country, had rather emboldeneh them than reclaimed them; insomuch as they stuck not to say to their neighbours and countrymen, that the king did

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well to pardon them, for that he knew he should leave few subjects in England, if he hanged all that were of their mind; and began whetting and inciting one another to renew the commotion. Some of the subtilest of them, hearing of Perkin's being in Ireland, found means to send to him to let him know, that if he would come over to them they would serve him.

When Perkin heard this news, he began to take heart again, and advised upon it with his council, which were principally three: Herne, a mercer, that had fled for debt; Skelton, a taylor; and Astley, a scrivener; for Secretary Frion was gone. These told him, that he was mightily overseen, both when he went into Kent, and when he went into Scotland; the one being a place so near London, and under the king's nose; and the other a nation so distasted with the people of England, that if they had loved him never so well, yet they would never have taken his part in that company. But if he had been so happy as to have been in Cornwall at the first, when the people began to take arms there, he had been crowned at Westminster before this time. For, these kings, as he had now experience, would sell poor princes for shoes. But he must rely wholly upon people; and therefore advised him to sail over with all possible speed into Cornwall; which accordingly he did, having in his company four small barks, with some six score or seven score fighting men. He arrived in September at Whitsand-Bay, and forthwith came to Bodmin, the blacksmith's town; where there assembled unto him to the number of three

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thousand men of the rude people. There he set forth a new proclamation, stroking the people with fair promises, and humouring them with invectives against the king and his government. And as it fareth with smoke, that never loseth itself till it be at the highest; he did now before his end raise his style, intitling himself no more Richard, Duke of York, but Richard the Fourth, King of England. His council advised him by all means to make himself master of some good walled town; as well to make his men find the sweetness of rich spoils, and to allure to him all loose and lost people, by like hopes of booty; as to be a sure retreat to his forces, in case they should have any ill day, or unlucky chance in the field. Wherefore they took heart to them, and went on, and besieged the city of Exeter, the principal town for strength and wealth in those parts.

When they were come before Exeter, they forbare to use any force at the first, but made continual shouts and outcries to terrify the inhabitants. They did likewise in divers places call and talk to them from under the walls, to join with them, and be of their party; telling them, that the king would make them another London, if they would be the first town that would acknowledge him. But they had not the wit to send to them, in any orderly fashion, agents or chosen men, to tempt them, and to treat with them. The citizens, on their part, shewed themselves stout and loyal subjects; neither was there so much as any tumult or

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division amongst them, but all prepared themselves for a valiant defence, and making good the town. For well they saw, that the rebels were of no such number or power, that they needed to fear them as yet; and well they hoped, that before their numbers increased, the king's succours would come in. And, howsoever, they thought it the extremest of evils, to put themselves at the mercy of those hungry and disorderly people. Wherefore setting all things in good order within the town, they nevertheless let down with cords, from several parts of the walls, privily, several messengers, that if one came to mischance, another might pass on, which should advertise the king of the state of the town, and implore his aid. Perkin also doubted, that succours would come ere long; and therefore resolved to use his utmost force to assault the town. And for that purpose having mounted scaling ladders in divers places upon the walls, made at the same instant an attempt to force one of the gates. But having no artillery nor engines, and finding that he could do no good by ramming with logs of timber, nor by the use of iron bars and iron crows, and such other means at hand, he had no way left him but to set one of the gates on fire which he did. But the citizens well perceiving the danger, before the gate could be fully consumed, blocked up the gate, and some space about it on the inside, with faggots and other fuel, which they likewise set on fire, and so repulsed fire with fire; and in the mean time raised up rampiers of earth, and cast up deep trenches, to serve instead of wall and

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gate. And for the scaladoes, they had so bad success, as the rebels were driven from the walls with the loss of two hundred men.

The king when he heard of Perkin's siege of Exeter, made sport with it, and said to them that were about him, that the king of rake-hells was landed in the west, and that he hoped now to have the honour to see him, which he could never yet do. And it appeared plainly to those that were about the king, that he was indeed much joyed with the news of Perkin's being in English ground, where he could have no retreat by land; thinking now that he should be cured of those privy stitches, which he had had long about his heart, and at some times broken his sleeps, in the midst of all his felicity. And to set all men's hearts on fire, he did by all possible means let it appear, that those that should now do him service to make an end of these troubles, should be no less accepted of him, than he that came upon the eleventh hour, and had the whole wages of the day. Therefore now, like the end of a play, a great number came upon the stage at once. He sent the Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord Brook, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, with expedite forces to speed to Exeter, to the rescue of the town, and to spread the fame of his own following in person with a royal army. The Earl of Devonshire, and his son, with the Carews, and the Fulfordes, and other principal persons of Devonshire, uncalled from the court, but hearing that the king's heart was so much bent upon this service, made haste with troops that they had raised,

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to be the first that should succour the city of Exeter, and prevent the king's succours. The Duke of Buckingham likewise, with many brave gentlemen, put themselves in arms, not staying either the king's or the Lord Chamberlain's coming on, but making a body of forces of themselves, the more to endear their merit; signifying to the king their readiness, and desiring to know his pleasure. So that according to the proverb, in the coming down, every saint did help.

Perkin, hearing this thunder of arms, and preparations against him from so many parts, raised his siege, and marched to Taunton; beginning already to squint one eye upon the crown and another upon the sanctuary; though the Cornish men were become like metal often fired and quenched, churlish, and that would sooner break than bow; swearing and vowing not to leave him, till the uttermost drop of their blood were spilt. He was at his rising from Exeter between six and seven thousand strong, many having come unto him after he was set before Exeter, upon fame of so great an enterprize, and to partake of the spoil; though upon the raising of his siege some did slip away. When he was come near Taunton, he dissembled all fear, and seemed all the day to use diligence in preparing all things ready to fight. But about midnight he fled with threescore horse to Bewdley in the New Forest, where he and divers of his company registered themselves sanctuary men, leaving his Cornish men to the four winds; but yet thereby easing them of their vow, and using his wonted compassion, not to be by when his sub-

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jects' blood should be spilt. The king, as soon as he heard of Perkin's flight, sent presently five hundred horse to pursue and apprehend him, before he should get either to the sea, or to that same little island called a sanctuary. But they came too late for the latter of these. Therefore all they could do, was to beset the sanctuary, and to maintain a strong watch about it, till the king's pleasure were further known. As for the rest of the rebels, they, being destituted of their head, without stroke stricken, submitted themselves unto the king's mercy. And the king, who commonly drew blood, as physicians do, rather to save life than to spill it, and was never cruel when he was secure; now he saw the danger was past, pardoned them all in the end, except some few desperate persons, which he reserved to be executed, the better to set off his mercy towards the rest. There were also sent with all speed some horse to Saint Michael's mount in Cornwall, where the Lady Catharine Gordon was left by her husband, whom in all fortunes she entirely loved; adding the virtues of a wife to the virtues of her sex. The king sent in the greater diligence, not knowing whether she might be with child, whereby the business would not have ended in Perkin's person. When she was brought to the king, it was commonly said, that the king received her not only with compassion, but with affection; pity giving more impression to her excellent beauty. Wherefore comforting her, to serve as well his eye as his fame, he sent her to his queen to remain with her; giving her very honour-

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able allowance for the support of her estate, which she enjoyed both during the king's life, and many years after. The name of the white-rose, which had been given to her husband's false title, was continued in common speech to her true beauty.

The king went forwards on his journey, and made a joyful entrance into Exeter, where he gave the citizens great commendations and thanks; and taking the sword he wore from his side, he gave it to the mayor, and commanded it should be ever after carried before him. There also he caused to be executed some of the ringleaders of the Cornish men, in sacrifice to the citizens whom they had put in fear and trouble. At Exeter the king consulted with his council, whether he should offer life to Perkin if he would quit the sanctuary, and voluntarily submit himself. The council were divided in opinion: some advised the king to take him out of sanctuary per force, and to put him to death, as in a case of necessity, which in itself dispenseth with consecrated places and things: wherein they doubted not also but the king should find the pope tractable to ratify his deed, either by declaration, or, at least, by indulgence. Others were of opinion, since all was now safe, and no further hurt could be done, that it was not worth the exposing of the king to new scandal and envy. A third sort fell upon the opinion, that it was not possible for the king ever, either to satisfy the world well touching the imposture, or to learn out the bottom of the conspiracy, except by promise of life and pardon, and other fair

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means, he should get Perkin into his hands. But they did all in their preambles much bemoan the king's case, with a kind of indignation at his fortune; that a prince of his high wisdom and virtue, should have been so long and so oft exercised and vexed with idols. But the king said, that it was the vexation of God Almighty himself to be vexed with idols, and therefore that that was not to trouble any of his friends; and that for himself, he always despised them; but was grieved that they had put his people to such trouble and misery. But in conclusion, he leaned to the third opinion, and so sent some to deal with Perkin, who seeing himself prisoner, and destitute of all hopes, having tried princes and people, great and small, and found all either false, faint, or unfortunate, did gladly accept of the condition. The king did also, while he was at Exeter, appoint the Lord Darcy, and others commissioners, for the fining of all such as were of any value, and had any hand or partaking in the aid or comfort of Perkin, or the Cornish men, either in the field or in the flight.

These commissioners proceeded with such strictness and severity, as did much obscure the king's mercy in sparing of blood, with the bleeding of so much treasure. Perkin was brought unto the king's court, but not to the king's presence; though the king, to satisfy his curiosity, saw him sometimes out of a window, or in passage. He was in shew at liberty, but guarded with all care and watch that was possible, and willed to follow the king to London. But from his first appearance upon the stage, in his

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new person of a sycophant, or juggler, instead of his former person of a prince, all men may think how he was exposed to the derision not only of the courtiers, but also of the common people, who flocked about him as he went along: that one might know afar off where the owl was by the flight of birds; some mocking, some wondering, some cursing, some prying and picking matter out of his countenance and gesture to talk of: so that the false honour and respects which he had so long enjoyed, was plentifully repaid in scorn and contempt. As soon as he was come to London, the king gave also the city the solace of this May-game; for he was conveyed leisurely on horseback, but not in any ignominious fashion, through Cheapside and Cornhill, to the Tower, and from thence back again to Westminster, with the churm of a thousand taunts and reproaches. But to amend the show, there followed a little distance off Perkin, an inward counsellor of his, one that had been serjeant farrier to the king. This fellow, when Perkin took sanctuary, chose rather to take an holy habit than an holy place, and clad himself like an hermit, and in that weed wandered about the country, till he was discovered and taken. But this man was bound hand and foot upon the horse, and came not back with Perkin, but was left at the Tower, and within few days after executed. Soon after, now that Perkin could tell better what himself was, he was diligently examined; and after his confession taken, an extract was made of such parts of them as were thought fit to be divulged, which was printed and

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dispersed abroad; wherein the king did himself no right; for as there was a laboured tale of particulars, of Perkin's father and mother, and grandsire and grandmother, and uncles and cousins, by names and sirnames, and from what places he travelled up and down; so there was little or nothing to purpose of any thing concerning his designs, or any practices that had been held with him; nor the Duchess of Burgundy herself, that all the world did take knowledge of, as the person that had put life and being into the whole business, so much as named or pointed at. So that men missing of that they looked for, looked about for they knew not what, and were in more doubt than before; but the king chose rather not to satisfy, than to kindle coals. At that time also it did not appear by any new examination or commitments, that any other person of quality was discovered or appeached, though the king's closeness made that a doubt dormant.

About this time a great fire in the night time suddenly began at the king's palace of Sheen, near unto the king's own lodgings, whereby a great part of the building was consumed, with much costly household-stuff; which gave the king occasion of building from the ground that fine pile of Richmond which is now standing.

Somewhat before this time also, there fell out a memorable accident: there was one Sebastian Gabato, a Venetian, dwelling in Bristol, a man seen and expert in cosmography and navigation. This man seeing the success, and emulating perhaps the

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enterprize of Christopherus Columbus in that fortunate discovery towards the south-west, which had been by him made some six years before, conceited with himself, that lands might likewise be discovered towards the north-west. And surely it may be he had more firm and pregnant conjectures of it, than Columbus had of this at the first. For the two great islands of the old and new world, being, in the shape and making of them, broad towards the north, and pointed towards the south; it is likely, that the discovery first began where the lands did nearest meet. And there had been before that time a discovery of some lands, which they took to be islands, and were indeed the continent of America, towards the north-west. And it may be that some relation of this nature coming afterwards to the knowledge of Columbus, and by him suppressed (desirous rather to make his enterprize the child of his science and fortune, than the follower of a former discovery) did give him better assurance, that all was not sea, from the west of Europe and Africa unto Asia, than either Seneca's prophecy or Plato's antiquities, or the nature of the tides and land-winds, and the like, which were the conjectures that were given out, whereupon he should have relied: though I am not ignorant, that it was likewise laid unto the casual and wind-beaten discovery, a little before, of a Spanish pilot, who died in the house of Columbus. But this Gabato bearing the king in hand, that he would find out an island endued with rich commodities, procured him

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to man and victual a ship at Bristol, for the discovery of that island; with whom ventured also three small ships of London merchants, fraught with some gross and slight wares, fit for commerce with barbarous people. He sailed, as he affirmed at his return, and made a card thereof, very far westwards, with a quarter of the north, on the north side of Terra de Labrador, until he came to the latitude of sixty-seven degrees and an half, finding the seas still open. It is certain also, that the king's fortune had a tender of that great empire of the West Indies. Neither was it a refusal on the king's part, but a delay by accident, that put by so great an acquest: for Christopherus Columbus, refused by the King of Portugal, who would not embrace at once both east and west, employed his brother Bartholomeus Columbus unto King Henry, to negotiate for his discovery: and it so fortuned, that he was taken by pirates at sea, by which accidental impediment he was long ere he came to the king: so long, that before he had obtained a capitulation with the king for his brother, the enterprize by him was achieved, and so the West Indies by providence were then reserved for the crown of Castile. Yet this sharpened the king so, that not only in this voyage, but again in the sixteenth year of his reign, and likewise in the eighteenth thereof, he granted forth new commissions for the discovery and investing of unknown lands.

In this fourteenth year also, by God's wonderful providence, that boweth things unto his will, and

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hangeth great weights upon small wires, there fell out a trifling and untoward accident, that drew on great and happy effects. During the truce with Scotland, there were certain Scottish young gentlemen that came into Norham town, and there made merry with some of the English of the town; and having little to do, went sometimes forth, and would stand looking upon the castle. Some of the garrison of the castle, observing this their doing twice or thrice, and having not their minds purged of the late ill blood of hostility, either suspected them, or quarrelled them for spies: whereupon they fell at ill words, and from words to blows; so that many were wounded of either side, and the Scottish men, being strangers in the town, had the worst; insomuch as some of them were slain, and the rest made haste home. The matter being complained on, and often debated before the wardens of the marches of both sides, and no good order taken: the King of Scotland took it to himself, and being much kindled, sent a herald to the king to make protestation, that if reparation were not done, according to the conditions of the truce, his king did denounce war. The king, who had often tried fortune, and was inclined to peace, made answer, that what had been done, was utterly against his will, and without his privity; but if the garrison soldiers had been in fault, he would see them punished, and the truce in all points to be preserved. But this answer seemed to the Scottish king but a delay, to make the complaint breathe out with time; and therefore it did

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rather exasperate him than satisfy him. Bishop Fox, understanding from the king that the Scottish king was still discontent and impatient, being troubled that the occasion of breaking of the truce should grow from his men, sent many humble and deprecatory letters to the Scottish king to appease him. Whereupon King James, mollified by the bishop's submissive and eloquent letters, wrote back unto him, that though he were in part moved by his letters, yet he should not be fully satisfied, except he spake with him, as well about the compounding of the present differences, as about other matters that might concern the good of both kingdoms. The bishop, advising first with the king, took his journey for Scotland. The meeting was at Melross, an abbey of the Cistercians, where the king then abode. The king first roundly uttered unto the bishop his offence conceived for the insolent breach of truce, by his men of Norham castle; whereunto Bishop Fox made such humble and smooth answer, as it was like oil into the wound, whereby it began to heal: and this was done in the presence of the king and his council. After, the king spake with the bishop apart, and opened himself unto him, saying, that these temporary truces and peaces were soon made, and soon broken, but that he desired a straiter amity with the King of England; discovering his [illegible] that if the king would give him in marr[illegible] Lady Margaret, his eldest daughter, th[illegible] might be a knot indissoluble. That he [illegible] what place and authority the bishop dese[illegible]

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with his master: therefore, if he would take the business to heart, and deal in it effectually, he doubted not but it would succeed well. The bishop answered soberly, that he thought himself rather happy than worthy to be an instrument in such a matter, but would do his best endeavour. Wherefore the bishop returning to the king, and giving account what had passed, and finding the king more than well disposed in it, gave the king advice; first to proceed to a conclusion of peace, and then to go on with the treaty of marriage by degrees. Hereupon a peace was concluded, which was published a little before Christmas, in the fourteenth year of the king's reign, to continue for both the king's lives, and the over-liver of them, and a year after. In this peace there was an article contained, that no Englishman should enter into Scotland, and no Scotchman into England, without letters commendatory from the kings of either nation. This at the first sight might seem a means to continue a strangeness between the nations; but it was done to lock in the borderers.

This year there was also born to the king a third son, who was christened by the name of Edmund, and shortly after died. And much about the same time came news of the death of Charles the French king, for whom there were celebrated solemn and princely obsequies.

It was not long but Perkin, who was made of quicksilver, which is hard to hold or imprison, began to stir. For deceiving his keepers, he took him to his heels, and made speed to the sea-coast. But

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presently all corners were laid for him, and such diligent pursuit and search made, as he was fain to turn back, and get him to the house of Bethlehem, called the priory of Sheen (which had the privilege of sanctuary) and put himself into the hands of the prior of that monastery. The prior was thought an holy man, and much reverenced in those days. He came to the king, and besought the king for Perkin's life only, leaving him otherwise to the king's discretion. Many about the king were again more hot than ever, to have the king to take him forth and hang him. But the king, that had an high stomach, and could not hate any that he despised, bid, "Take "him forth, and set the knave in the stocks;" and so promising the prior his life, he caused him to be brought forth. And within two or three days after, upon a scaffold set up in the palace court at Westminster, he was fettered and set in the stocks for the whole day. And the next day after, the like was done by him at the cross in Cheapside, and in both places he read his confession, of which we made mention before; and was from Cheapside conveyed and laid up in the Tower. Notwithstanding all this, the king was, as was partly touched before, grown to be such a partner with fortune, as no body could tell what actions the one, and what the other owned. For it was believed generally, that Perkin was betrayed, and that this escape was not without the king's privity, who had him all the time of his flight in a line; and that the king did this, to pick a quarrel to him to put him to death, and to be rid of

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him at once: but this is not probable. For that the same instruments who observed him in his flight, might have kept him from getting into sanctuary.

But it was ordained, that this winding-ivy of a Plantagenet should kill the true tree itself. For Perkin, after he had been a while in the Tower, began to insinuate himself into the favour and kindness of his keepers, servants to the lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Digby, being four in number; Strangeways, Blewet, Astwood, and Long Roger. These varlets, with mountains of promises, he sought to corrupt, to obtain his escape; but knowing well, that his own fortunes were made so contemptible, as he could feed no man's hopes, and by hopes he must work, for rewards he had none, he had contrived with himself a vast and tragical plot; which was, to draw into his company Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, then prisoner in the Tower; whom the weary life of a long imprisonment, and the often and renewing fears of being put to death, had softened to take any impression of counsel for his liberty. This young prince he thought the servants would look upon, though not upon himself: and therefore, after that by some message by one or two of them, he had tasted of the earl's consent; it was agreed that these four should murder their master the lieutenant, secretly, in the night, and make their best of such money and portable goods of his, as they should find ready at hand, and get the keys of the Tower, and presently let forth Perkin and the earl. But this conspiracy was re-

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vealed in time, before it could be executed. And in this again the opinion of the king's great wisdom did surcharge him with a sinister fame, that Perkin was but his bait, to entrap the Earl of Warwick. And in the very instant while this conspiracy was in working, as if that also had been the king's industry, it was fatal, that there should break forth a counterfeit Earl of Warwick, a cordwainer's son, whose name was Ralph Wilford; a young man taught and set on by an Augustin Friar, called Patrick. They both from the parts of Suffolk came forwards into Kent, where they did not only privily and underhand give out that this Wilford was the true Earl of Warwick, but also the friar, finding some light credence in the people, took the boldness in the pulpit to declare as much, and to incite the people to come in to his aid. Whereupon they were both presently apprehended, and the young fellow executed, and the friar condemned to perpetual imprisonment. This also happening so opportunely, to represent the danger to the king's estate from the Earl of Warwick, and thereby to colour the king's severity that followed; together with the madness of the friar so vainly and desperately to divulge a treason, before it had gotten any manner of strength: and the saving of the friar's life, which nevertheless was, indeed, but the privilege of his order; and the pity in the common people, which if it run in a strong stream, doth ever cast up scandal and envy, made it generally rather talked than believed that all was but the king's device. But howsoever it

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were, hereupon Perkin, that had offended against grace now the third time, was at the last proceeded with, and by commissioners of oyer and determiner, arraigned at Westminster, upon divers treasons committed and perpetrated after his coming on land, within this kingdom, for so the judges advised, for that he was a foreigner, and condemned, and a few days after executed at Tyburn; where he did again openly read his confession, and take it upon his death to be true. This was the end of this little cockatrice of a king, that was able to destroy those that did not espy him first. It was one of the longest plays of that kind that hath been in memory, and might perhaps have had another end, if he had not met with a king both wise, stout, and fortunate.

As for Perkin's three counsellors, they had registered themselves sanctuary-men when their master did; and whether upon pardon obtained, or continuance within the privilege, they came not to be proceeded with.

There were executed with Perkin, the Mayor of Cork and his son, who had been principal abettors of his treasons. And soon after were likewise condemned eight other persons about the Tower conspiracy, whereof four were the lieutenant's men: but of those eight but two were executed. And immediately after was arraigned before the Earl of Oxford, then for the time high steward of England, the poor prince, the Earl of Warwick; not for the attempt to escape simply, for that was not acted,

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and besides, the imprisonment not being for treason, the escape by law could not be treason, but for conspiring with Perkin to raise sedition, and to destroy the king: and the earl confessing the indictment, had judgement, and was shortly after beheaded on Tower-hill.

This was also the end, not only of this noble and commiserable person Edward, the Earl of Warwick, eldest son to the Duke of Clarence; but likewise of the line male of the Plantagenets, which had flourished in great royalty and renown, from the time of the famous King of England, King Henry the Second. Howbeit it was a race often dipped in their own blood. It hath remained since only transplanted into other names, as well of the imperial line, as of other noble houses. But it was neither guilt of crime, nor reason of state, that could quench the envy that was upon the king for this execution: so that he thought good to export it out of the land, and to lay it upon his new ally, Ferdinando, King of Spain. For these two kings understanding one another at half a word, so it was that there were letters shewed out of Spain, whereby in the passages concerning the treaty of the marriage, Ferdinando had written to the king in plain terms, that he saw no assurance of his succession as long as the Earl of Warwick lived, and that he was loth to send his daughter to troubles and dangers. But hereby, as the king did in some part remove the envy from himself; so he did not observe, that he did withal bring a kind of malediction and infausting upon the

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marriage, as an ill prognostic: which in event so far proved true, as both Prince Arthur enjoyed a very small time after the marriage, and the Lady Catharine herself, a sad and a religious woman, long after, when King Henry the Eighth's resolution of a divorce from her was first made known to her, used some words, that she had not offended, but it was a judgement of God, for that her former marriage was made in blood; meaning that of the Earl of Warwick.

The fifteenth year of the king, there was a great plague both in London and in divers parts of the kingdom. Wherefore the king, after often change of places, whether to avoid the danger of the sickness, or to give occasion of an interview with the archduke, or both, sailed over with his queen to Calais. Upon his coming thither, the archduke sent an honourable embassage unto him, as well to welcome him into those parts, as to let him know, that if it pleased him, he would come and do him reverence. But it was said withal, that the king might be pleased to appoint some place, that were out of any walled town or fortress, for that he had denied the same upon like occasion to the French king: and though, he said, he made a great difference between the two kings, yet he would be loth to give a precedent, that might make it after to be expected at his hands, by another whom he trusted less. The king accepted of the courtesy, and admitted of his excuse, and appointed the place to be at Saint Peter's church without Calais. But withal

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he did visit the archduke with ambassadors sent from himself, which were the Lord St. John, and the secretary; unto whom the archduke did the honour, as, going to mass at Saint Omer's, to set the Lord St. John on his right hand, and the secretary on his left, and so to ride between them to church. The day appointed for the interview the king went on horseback some distance from Saint Peter's church, to receive the archduke: and upon their approaching, the archduke made haste to light, and offered to hold the king's stirrup at his alighting; which the king would not permit, but descending from horseback, they embraced with great affection; and withdrawing into the church to a place prepared, they had long conference, not only upon the confirmation of former treaties, and the freeing of commerce, but upon cross marriages, to be had between the Duke of York, the king's second son, and the archduke's daughter; and again between Charles, the archduke's son and heir, and Mary, the king's second daughter. But these blossoms of unripe marriages were but friendly wishes, and the airs of loving entertainment; though one of them came afterwards to conclusion in treaty, though not in effect. But during the time that the two princes conversed and communed together in the suburbs of Calais, the demonstrations on both sides were passing hearty and affectionate, especially on the part of the archduke: who, besides that he was a prince of an excellent good nature, being conscious to himself how drily the king had been used by his

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council in the matter of Perkin, did strive by all means to recover it in the king's affection. And having also his ears continually beaten with the counsels of his father and father-in-law, who, in respect of their jealous hatred against the French king, did always advise the archduke to anchor himself upon the amity of King Henry of England; was glad upon this occasion to put in ure and practice their precepts, calling the king patron, and father, and protector, (these very words the king repeats, when he certified of the loving behaviour of the archduke to the city,) and what else he could devise, to express his love and observance to the king. There came also to the king, the governor of Picardy, and the bailiff of Amiens, sent from Lewis the French king to do him honour, and to give him knowledge of his victory, and winning of the Duchy of Milan. It seemeth the king was well pleased with the honours he received from those parts, while he was at Calais; for he did himself certify all the news and occurrents of them in every particular, from Calais, to the mayor and aldermen of London, which, no doubt, made no small talk in the city. For the king, though he could not entertain the good-will of the citizens, as Edward the Fourth did, yet by affability and other princely graces, did ever make very much of them, and apply himself to them.

This year also died John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, Chancellor of England, and Cardinal. He was a wise man, and an eloquent, but in his

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nature harsh and haughty; much accepted by the king, but envied by the nobility, and hated of the people. Neither was his name left out of Perkin's proclamation for any good will, but they would not bring him in amongst the king's casting counters, because he had the image and superscription upon him of the pope, in his honour of cardinal. He won the king with secrecy and diligence, but chiefly because he was his old servant in his less fortunes: and also for that, in his affections, he was not without an inveterate malice against the house of York, under whom he had been in trouble. He was willing also to take envy from the king, more than the king was willing to put upon him: for the king cared not for subterfuges, but would stand envy, and appear in any thing that was to his mind; which made envy still grow upon him more universal, but less daring. But in the matter of exactions, time did after shew, that the bishop in feeding the king's humour did rather temper it. He had been by Richard the Third committed, as in custody, to the Duke of Buckingham, whom he did secretly incite to revolt from King Richard. But after the duke was engaged, and thought the bishop should have been his chief pilot in the tempest, the bishop was gotten into the cock boat, and fled over beyond seas. But whatsoever else was in the man, he deserveth a most happy memory, in that he was the principal mean of joining the two roses. He died of great years, but of strong health and powers.

The next year, which was the sixteenth year of

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the king, and the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred, was the year of jubilee at Rome. But Pope Alexander, to save the hazard and charges of men's journies to Rome, thought good to make over those graces by exchange, to such as would pay a convenient rate, seeing they could not come to fetch them. For which purpose was sent into England, Jasper Pons, a Spaniard, the pope's commissioner, better chosen than were the commissioners of Pope Leo, afterwards employed for Germany; for he carried the business with great wisdom, and semblance of holiness: insomuch as he levied great sums of money within this land to the pope's use, with little or no scandal. It was thought the king shared in the money; but it appeareth by a letter which Cardinal Adrian, the king's pensioner, wrote to the king from Rome some few years after, that this was not so. For this cardinal, being to persuade Pope Julius, on the king's behalf, to expedite the bull of dispensation for the marriage between Prince Henry and the Lady Catharine, finding the pope difficile in granting thereof, doth use it as a principal argument concerning the king's merit towards that see, that he had touched none of those deniers which had been levied by Pons in England. But that it might the better appear, for the satisfaction of the common people, that this was consecrated money, the same nuncio brought unto the king a brief from the pope, wherein the king was exhorted and summoned to come in person against the Turk: for that the pope, out of the care of an universal father, seeing almost

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under his eyes the successes and progresses of that great enemy of the faith, had had in the conclave, and with the assistance of the ambassadors of foreign princes, divers consultations about an holy war, and a general expedition of Christian princes against the Turk: wherein it was agreed and thought fit, that the Hungarians, Polonians, and Bohemians, should make a war upon Thracia; the French and Spaniards upon Græcia; and that the pope, willing to sacrifice himself in so good a cause, in person, and in company of the King of England, the Venetians, and such other states as were great in maritime power, would sail with a puissant navy through the Mediterranean unto Constantinople. And that to this end, his holiness had sent nuncios to all Christian princes, as well for a cessation of all quarrels and differences amongst themselves, as for speedy preparations and contributions of forces and treasure for this sacred enterprize.

To this the king, who understood well the court of Rome, made an answer rather solemn than serious: signifying,

"That no prince on earth should be more for-
"ward and obedient, both by his person, and by all
"his possible forces and fortunes, to enter into this
"sacred war, than himself. But that the distance
"of place was such, as no forces that he should raise
"for the seas, could be levied or prepared but with
"double the charge, and double the time, at the
"least, that they might be from the other princes,
"that had their territories nearer adjoining. Besides,
"that neither the manner of his ships, having no

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" galleys, nor the experience of his pilots and mari-
" ners, could be so apt for those seas as theirs. And
" therefore that his holiness might do well to move
" one of those other kings, who lay fitter for the
" purpose, to accompany him by sea. Whereby both
" all things would be no sooner put in readiness, and
" with less charge, and the emulation and division
" of command, which might grow between those
" kings of France and Spain, if they should both
" join in the war by land upon Græcia, might be
" wisely avoided; and that for his part he would not
" be wanting in aids and contribution. Yet not-
" withstanding, if both these kings should refuse,
" rather than his holiness should go alone, he would
" wait upon him as soon as he could be ready: al-
" ways provided, that he might first see all dif-
" ferences of the Christian princes amongst them-
" selves fully laid down and appeased, as for his own
" part he was in none, and that he might have some
" good towns upon the coast in Italy put into his
" hands, for the retreat and safeguard of his men."

With this answer Jasper Pons returned, nothing at all discontented: and yet this declaration of the king, as superficial as it was, gave him that reputation abroad, as he was not long after elected by the Knights of Rhodes, the protector of their order: all things multiplying to honour in a prince, that had gotten such high estimation for his wisdom and sufficiency.

There were these two last years some proceedings against heretics, which was rare in this king's reign, and rather by penances, than by fire. The

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king had, though he were no good schoolman, the honour to convert one of them by dispute at Canterbury.

This year also, though the king were no more haunted with sprites, for that by the sprinkling, partly of blood, and partly of water, he had chased them away; yet nevertheless he had certain apparitions that troubled him, still shewing themselves from one region, which was the house of York. It came so to pass, that the Earl of Suffolk, son to Elizabeth, eldest sister to King Edward the Fourth, by John, Duke of Suffolk, her second husband, and brother to John, Earl of Lincoln, that was slain at Stokefield, being of an hasty and choleric disposition, had killed a man in his fury; whereupon the king gave him his pardon. But, either willing to leave a cloud upon him, or the better to make him feel his grace, produced him openly to plead his pardon. This wrought in the earl, as in a haughty stomach it useth to do; for the ignominy printed deeper than the grace. Wherefore he being discontent, fled secretly into Flanders unto his aunt, the Duchess of Burgundy. The king startled at it, but, being taught by troubles to use fair and timely remedies, wrought so with him by messages, the Lady Margaret also growing, by often failing in her alchymy, weary of her experiments; and partly being a little sweetened, for that the king had not touched her name in the confession of Perkin, that he came over again upon good terms, and was reconciled to the king.

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In the beginning of the next year, being the seventeeth of the king, the Lady Catharine, fourth daughter of Ferdinando and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, arrived in England at Plymouth, the second of October, and was married to Prince Arthur, in Pauls, the fourteenth of November following: the prince being then about fifteen years of age, and the lady about eighteen. The manner of her receiving, the manner of her entry into London, and the celebrity of the marriage, were performed with great and true magnificence, in regard of cost, shew, and order. The chief man that took the care was Bishop Fox, who was not only a grave counsellor for war or peace, but also a good surveyor of works, and a good master of ceremonies, and any thing else that was fit for the active part, belonging to the service of court or state of a great king. This marriage was almost seven years in treaty, which was in part caused by the tender years of the marriage-couple, especially of the prince: but the true reason was, that these two princes, being princes of great policy and profound judgement, stood a great time looking one upon another's fortunes, how they would go; knowing well, that in the mean time the very treaty itself gave abroad in the world a reputation of a strait conjunction and amity between them, which served on both sides to many purposes, that their several affairs required, and yet they continued still free. But in the end, when the fortunes of both the princes did grow every day more and more prosperous and assured, and that looking all about

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them, they saw no better conditions, they shut it up.

The marriage money the princess brought, which was turned over to the king by act of renunciation, was two hundred thousand ducats; whereof one hundred thousand were payable ten days after the solemnization, and the other hundred thousand at two payments annual; but part of it to be in jewels and plate, and a due course set down to have them justly and indifferently prized. The jointure or advancement of the lady, was the third part of the Principality of Wales, and of the Dukedom of Cornwall, and of the Earldom of Chester, to be after set forth in severalty; and in case she came to be Queen of England, her advancement was left indefinite, but thus; that it should be as great as ever any former Queen of England had. In all the devices and conceits of the triumphs of this marriage, there was a great deal of astronomy; the lady being resembled to Hesperus, and the prince to Arcturus; and the old King Alphonsus, that was the greatest astronomer of kings, and was ancestor to the lady, was brought in, to be the fortune-teller of the match. And whosoever had those toys in compiling, they were not altogether pedantical; but you may be sure, that King Arthur, the Briton, and the descent of the Lady Catharine from the house of Lancaster, was in no wise forgotten. But as it should seem, it is not good to fetch fortunes from the stars; for this young prince, that drew upon him at that time, not only the hopes and affections of his country, but the eyes

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and expectation of foreigners, after a few months, in the beginning of April, deceased at Ludlow castle, where he was sent to keep his resiance and court, as Prince of Wales. Of this prince, in respect he died so young, and by reason of his father's manner of education, that did cast no great lustre upon his children, there is little particular memory: only thus much remaineth, that he was very studious and learned, beyond his years, and beyond the custom of great princes.

There was a doubt ripped up in the times following, when the divorce of King Henry the Eighth from the Lady Catharine did so much busy the world, whether Arthur was bedded with his lady or no, whereby that matter in fact, of carnal knowledge, might be made part of the case. And it is true, that the lady herself denied it, or at least her counsel stood upon it, and would not blanch that advantage, although the plenitude of the pope's power of dispensing was the main question. And this doubt was kept long open, in respect of the two queens that succeeded, Mary and Elizabeth, whose legitimations were incompatible one with another, though their succession was settled by act of parliament. And the times that favoured Queen Mary's legitimation would have it believed, that there was no carnal knowledge between Arthur and Catharine. Not that they would seem to derogate from the pope's absolute power, to dispense even in that case: but only in point of honour, and to make the case more favourable and smooth. And the times that favoured

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Queen Elizabeth's legitimation, which were the longer and the latter, maintained the contrary. So much there remaineth in memory, that it was half a year's time between the creation of Henry, Prince of Wales, and Prince Arthur's death, which was construed to be, for to expect a full time, whereby it might appear, whether the Lady Catharine were with child by Prince Arthur, or no. Again, the lady herself procured a bull, for the better corroboration of the marriage, with a clause of "vel forsan cognitam," which was not in the first bull. There was given in evidence also, when the cause of the divorce was handled, a pleasant passage, which was, that in a morning, Prince Arthur, upon his uprising from bed with her, called for drink, which he was not accustomed to do, and finding the gentleman of his chamber that brought him the drink to smile at it, and to note it, he said merrily to him, that he had been in the midst of Spain, which was an hot region, and his journey had made him dry; and that if the other had been in so hot a clime, he would have been drier than he. Besides, the prince was upon the point of sixteen years of age when he died, and forward, and able in body.

The February following, Henry, Duke of York was created Prince of Wales, and Earl of Chester and Flint: for the Dukedom of Cornwall devolved to him by statute. The king also being fast-handed, and loth to part with a second dowry, but chiefly being affectionate both by his nature, and out of politic considerations to continue the alliance with Spain, prevailed with the prince, though not without

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some reluctation, such as could be in those years, for he was not twelve years of age, to be contracted with the Princess Catharine. The secret providence of God ordaining that marriage to be the occasion of great events and changes.

The same year were the espousals of James, King of Scotland with the Lady Margaret, the king's eldest daughter; which was done by proxy, and published at Paul's cross, the five and twentieth of January, and Te Deum solemnly sung. But certain it is, that the joy of the city thereupon shewed, by ringing of bells and bonfires, and such other incense of the people, was more than could be expected, in a case of so great and fresh enmity between the nations, especially in London, which was far enough off from feeling any of the former calamities of the war; and therefore might be truly attributed to a secret instinct and inspiring, which many times runneth not only in the hearts of princes, but in the pulse and veins of people, touching the happiness thereby to ensue in time to come. This marriage was in August following, consummate at Edinburgh: the king bringing his daughter as far as Colliweston on the way, and then consigning her to the attendance of the Earl of Northumberland; who, with a great troop of lords and ladies of honour, brought her into Scotland, to the king her husband.

This marriage had been in treaty by the space of almost three years, from the time that the king of Scotland did first open his mind to Bishop Fox. The sum given in marriage by the king, was ten thou-

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sand pounds: and the jointure and advancement assured by the King of Scotland, was two thousand pounds a year, after King James's death, and one thousand pounds a year in present, for the lady's allowance or maintenance. This to be set forth in lands, of the best and most certain revenue. During the treaty, it is reported, that the king remitted the matter to his council; and that some of the table, in the freedom of counsellors, the king being present, did put the case, that if God should take the king's two sons without issue, that then the kingdom of England would fall to the King of Scotland, which might prejudice the monarchy of England. Whereunto the king himself replied; that if that should be, Scotland would be but an accession to England, and not England to Scotland, for that the greater would draw the less: and that it was a safer union for England than that of France. This passed as an oracle, and silenced those that moved the question.

The same year was fatal, as well for deaths as marriages, and that with equal temper. For the joys and feasts of the two marriages were compensed with the mournings and funerals of Prince Arthur, of whom we have spoken, and of Queen Elizabeth, who died in child-bed in the Tower, and the child lived not long after. There died also that year, Sir Reginald Bray, who was noted to have had with the king the greatest freedom of any counsellor: but it was but a freedom the better to set off flattery. Yet

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he bare more than his just part of envy for the exactions.

At this time the king's estate was very prosperous: secured by the amity of Scotland, strengthened by that of Spain, cherished by that of Burgundy, all domestic troubles quenched, and all noise of war, like a thunder afar off, going upon Italy. Wherefore nature, which many times is happily contained and refrained by some bands of fortune, began to take place in the king; carrying, as with a strong tide, his affections and thoughts unto the gathering and heaping up of treasure. And as kings do more easily find instruments for their will and humour, than for their service and honour; he had gotten for his purpose, or beyond his purpose, two instruments, Empson and Dudley, whom the people esteemed as his horse-leeches and shearers, bold men and careless of fame, and that took toll of their master's grist. Dudley was of a good family, eloquent, and one that could put hateful business into good language. But Empson, that was the son of a sieve-maker, triumphed always upon the deed done, putting off all other respects whatsoever. These two persons being lawyers in science, and privy counsellors in authority, as the corruption of the best things is the worst, turned law and justice into wormwood and rapine. For first, their manner was to cause divers subjects to be indicted of sundry crimes, and so far forth to proceed in form of law; but when the bills were found, then presently to commit them: and never-

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theless not to produce them in any reasonable time to their answer, but to suffer them to languish long in prison, and by sundry artificial devices and terrors to extort from them great fines and ransoms, which they termed compositions and mitigations.

Neither did they, towards the end, observe so much as the half-face of justice, in proceeding by indictment; but sent forth their precepts to attach men and convent them before themselves, and some others, at their private houses, in a court of commission; and there used to shuffle up a summary proceeding by examination, without trial of jury; assuming to themselves there to deal both in pleas of the crown, and controversies civil.

Then did they also use to inthral and charge the subjects' lands with tenures "in capite," by finding false offices, and thereby to work upon them for wardships, liveries, premier seisins, and alienations, being the fruits of those tenures, refusing, upon divers pretexts and delays, to admit men to traverse those false offices, according to the law. Nay, the king's wards, after they had accomplished their full age, could not be suffered to have livery of their lands, without paying excessive fines, far exceeding all reasonable rates. They did also vex men with informations of intrusion, upon scarce colourable titles.

When men were outlawed in personal actions, they would not permit them to purchase their charters of pardon, except they paid great and intolerable sums; standing upon the strict point of law,

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which upon outlawries giveth forfeiture of goods; nay, contrary to all law and colour, they maintained the king ought to have the half of men's lands and rents, during the space of full two years, for a pain in case of outlawry. They would also ruffle with jurors, and inforce them to find as they would direct, and, if they did not, convent them, imprison them, and fine them.

These and many other courses, fitter to be buried than repeated, they had of preying upon the people; both like tame hawks for their master, and like wild hawks for themselves; insomuch as they grew to great riches and substance: but their principal working was upon penal laws, wherein they spared none, great nor small; nor considered whether the law were possible or impossible, in use or obsolete: but raked over all old and new statutes, though many of them were made with intention rather of terror than of rigour, having ever a rabble of promoters, questmongers, and leading jurors at their command, so as they could have any thing found either for fact or valuation.

There remaineth to this day a report, that the king was on a time entertained by the Earl of Oxford, that was his principal servant both for war and peace, nobly and sumptuously, at his castle at Henningham: And at the king's going away, the earl's servants stood, in a seemly manner, in their livery coats, with cognizances, ranged on both sides, and made the king a lane. The king called the earl to him, and said, "My lord, I have heard much of your

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" hospitality, but I see it is greater than the speech: " These handsome gentlemen and yeomen, which I " see on both sides of me, are sure your menial ser- " vants." The earl smiled, and said, " It may please " your grace, that were not for mine ease: they are " most of them my retainers, that are come to do " me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to " see your grace." The king started a little, and said, " By my faith, my lord, I thank you for my " good cheer, but I may not endure to have my laws " broken in my sight: my attorney must speak with " you." And it is part of the report, that the earl compounded for no less than fifteen thousand marks, And to shew further the king's extreme diligence, I do remember to have seen long since a book of accompt of Empson's, that had the king's hand almost to every leaf, by way of signing, and was in some places postilled in the margin with the king's hand likewise, where was this remembrance.

" Item, Received of such a one five marks, for a " pardon to be procured; and if the pardon " do not pass, the money to be repaid: except " the party be some other ways satisfied."

And over-against this " Memorandum," of the king's own hand,

" Otherwise satisfied."

Which I do the rather mention, because it shews in the king a nearness, but yet with a kind of just-

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ness. So these little sands and grains of gold and silver, as it seemeth, helped not a little to make up the great heap and bank.

But mean while to keep the king awake, the Earl of Suffolk, having been too gay at Prince Arthur's marriage, and sunk himself deep in debt, had yet once more a mind to be a knight-errant, and to seek adventures in foreign parts; and taking his brother with him, fled again into Flanders. That, no doubt, which gave him confidence, was the great murmur of the people against the king's government: and being a man of a light and rash spirit, he thought every vapour would be a tempest. Neither wanted he some party within the kingdom: for the murmur of people awakes the discontents of nobles; and again, that calleth up commonly some head of sedition. The king resorting to his wonted and tried arts, caused Sir Robert Curson, captain of the castle at Hammes, being at that time beyond sea, and therefore less likely to be wrought upon by the king, to fly from his charge, and to feign himself a servant of the earl's. This knight, having insinuated himself into the secrets of the earl, and finding by him upon whom chiefly he had either hope or hold, advertised the king thereof in great secrecy: but nevertheless maintained his own credit and inward trust with the earl. Upon whose advertisement the king attached William Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, his brother-in-law, married to the Lady Catharine, daughter to King Edward the Fourth; William de la Pole, brother to the Earl of Suffolk;

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Sir James Tirrel, and Sir John Windham, and some other meaner persons, and committed them to custody. George Lord Abergavenny, and Sir Thomas Green, were at the same time apprehended; but as upon less suspicion, so in a freer restraint, and were soon after delivered. The Earl of Devonshire being interested in the blood of York, that was rather feared than nocent; yet as one that might be the object of others plots and designs, remained prisoner in the Tower, during the king's life. William de la Pole was also long restrained, though not so straitly. But for Sir James Tirrel, against whom the blood of the innocent princes, Edward the Fifth, and his brother, did still "cry from under the altar," and Sir John Windham, and the other meaner ones, they were attainted and executed; the two knights beheaded. Nevertheless, to confirm the credit of Curson, who belike had not yet done all his feats of activity, there was published at Paul's cross, about the time of the said executions, the pope's bull of excommunication and curse against the Earl of Suffolk and Sir Robert Curson, and some others by name; and likewise in general against all the abettors of the said earl: wherein it must be confessed, that heaven was made too much to bow to earth, and religion to policy. But soon after, Curson, when he saw the time, returned into England, and withal into wonted favour with the king, but worse fame with the people. Upon whose return the earl was much dismayed, and seeing himself destitute of hopes, the Lady Margaret also, by tract of time and

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bad success, being now become cool in those attempts, after some wandering in France and Germany, and certain little projects, no better than squibs of an exiled man, being tired out, retired again into the protection of the Archduke Philip in Flanders, who by the death of Isabella was at that time King of Castile, in the right of Joan his wife.

This year, being the nineteenth of his reign, the king called his parliament; wherein a man may easily guess how absolute the king took himself to be with his parliament, when Dudley, that was so hateful, was made Speaker of the House of Commons. In this parliament there were not made any statutes memorable touching public government; but those that were, had still the stamp of the king's wisdom and policy.

There was a statute made for the disannulling of all patents of lease or grant, to such as came not upon lawful summons to serve the king in his wars, against the enemies or rebels, or that should depart without the king's licence; with an exception of certain persons of the long robe: providing nevertheless that they should have the king's wages from their house, till their return home again. There had been the like made before for offices, and by this statute it was extended to lands. But a man may easily see by many statutes made in this king's time, that the king thought it safest to assist martial law by law of parliament.

Another statute was made, prohibiting the bringing in of manufactures of silk wrought by itself, or

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mixt with any other thread. But it was not of stuffs of whole piece, for that the realm had of them no manufacture in use at that time, but of knit silk, or texture of silk; as ribbons, laces, cauls, points, and girdles, &c. which the people of England could then well skill to make. This law pointed at a true principle; "That where foreign materials are but "superfluities, foreign manufactures should be pro- "hibited." For that will either banish the superfluity, or gain the manufacture.

There was a law also of resumption of patents of gaols, and the reannexing of them to the sheriffwicks; privileged officers being no less an interruption of justice, than privileged places.

There was likewise a law to restrain the by-laws, or ordinances of corporations, which many times were against the prerogative of the king, the common law of the realm, and the liberty of the subject, being fraternities in evil, It was therefore provided, that they should not be put in execution, without the allowance of the chancellor, treasurer, and the two chief justices, or three of them, or of the two justices of circuit where the corporation was.

Another law was, in effect, to bring in the silver of the realm to the mint, in making all clipped, minished, or impaired coins of silver, not to be current in payments; without giving any remedy of weight, but with an exception only of reasonable wearing, which was as nothing in respect of the uncertainty; and so, upon the matter, to set the mint

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on work, and to give way to new coins of silver, which should be then minted.

There likewise was a long statute against vagabonds, wherein two things may be noted; the one, the dislike the parliament had of gaoling of them, as that which was chargeable, pesterous, and of no open example. The other, that in the statutes of this king's time, for this of the nineteenth year is not the only statute of that kind, there are ever coupled the punishment of vagabonds, and the forbidding of dice and cards, and unlawful games, unto servants and mean people, and the putting down and suppressing of alehouses, as strings of one root together, and as if the one were unprofitable without the other.

As for riot and retainers, there passed scarce any parliament in this time without a law against them: the king ever having an eye to might and multitude.

There was granted also that parliament a subsidy, both from the temporalty and the clergy. And yet nevertheless, ere the year expired, there went out commissions for a general benevolence, though there were no wars, no fears. The same year the city gave five thousand marks, for confirmation of their liberties; a thing fitter for the beginnings of kings' reigns, than the latter ends. Neither was it a small matter that the mint gained upon the late statute, by the recoinage of groats and half-groats, now twelve-pences and six-pences. As for Empson

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and Dudley's mills, they did grind more than ever: so that it was a strange thing to see what golden showers poured down upon the king's treasury at once; the last payments of the marriage-money from Spain; the subsidy; the benevolence; the recoinage; the redemption of the city's liberties; the casualties. And this is the more to be marvelled at, because the king had then no occasions at all of wars or troubles. He had now but one son, and one daughter unbestowed. He was wise; he was of an high mind; he needed not to make riches his glory; he did excel in so many things else; save that certainly avarice doth ever find in itself matter of ambition. Belike he thought to leave his son such a kingdom, and such a mass of treasure, as he might choose his greatness where he would.

This year was also kept the serjeants' feast, which was the second call in this king's days.

About this time Isabella, Queen of Castile, deceased; a right noble lady, and an honour to her sex and times, and the corner-stone of the greatness of Spain that hath followed. This accident the king took not for news at large, but thought it had a great relation to his own affairs, especially in two points: the one for example, the other for consequence. First, he conceived that the case of Ferdinando of Arragon, after the death of Queen Isabella, was his own case after the death of his own queen; and the case of Joan the heir unto Castile, was the case of his own son Prince Henry. For if both of the kings had their kingdoms in the right of

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their wives, they descended to the heirs, and did not accrue to the husbands. And although his own case had both steel and parchment, more than the other, that is to say, a conquest in the field, and an act of parliament, yet notwithstanding, that natural title of descent in blood did, in the imagination even of a wise man, breed a doubt, that the other two were not safe nor sufficient. Wherefore he was wonderful diligent to inquire and observe what became of the King of Arragon, in holding and continuing the kingdom of Castile; and whether he did hold it in his own right; or as administrator to his daughter; and whether he were like to hold it in fact, or to be put out by his son in-law. Secondly, he did revolve in his mind, that the state of Christendom might by this late accident have a turn. For whereas before time, himself, with the conjunction of Arragon and Castile, which then was one, and the amity of Maximilian and Philip his son the archduke, was far too strong a party for France; he began to fear, that now the French king, (who had great interest in the affections of Philip, the young King of Castile,) and Philip himself, now King of Castile, who was in ill terms with his father-in-law about the present government of Castile; and thirdly, Maximilian, Philip's father, who was ever variable, and upon whom the surest aim that could be taken was, that he would not be long as he had been last before, would, all three, being potent princes, enter into some strait league and confederation amongst themselves: whereby though he should not been dangered,

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yet he should be left to the poor amity of Arragon. And whereas he had been heretofore a kind of arbiter of Europe, he should now go less, and be over-topped by so great a conjunction. He had also, as it seems, an inclination to marry, and bethought himself of some fit conditions abroad; and amongst others he had heard of the beauty and virtuous behaviour of the young Queen of Naples, the widow of Ferdinando the younger, being then of matronal years of seven and twenty: by whose marriage he thought that the kingdom of Naples, having been a gaol for a time between the King of Arragon and the French king, and being but newly settled, might in some part be deposited in his hands, who was so able to keep the stakes. Therefore he sent in embassage or message three confident persons, Francis Marsin, James Braybrooke, and John Stile, upon two several inquisitions rather than negociations. The one touching the person and condition of the young Queen of Naples; the other touching all particulars of estate, that concerned the fortunes and intentions of Ferdinando. And because they may observe best, who themselves are observed least, he sent them under colourable pretexts: giving them letters of kindness and compliment from Catharine the princess, to her aunt and niece, the old and young Queen of Naples, and delivering to them also a book of new articles of peace: which notwithstanding it had been delivered unto Doctor de Puebla, the lieger ambassador of Spain here in England, to be sent; yet for that the king

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had been long without hearing from Spain, he thought good those messengers, when they had been with the two queens, should likewise pass on to the court of Ferdinando, and take a copy of the book with them. The instructions touching the Queen of Naples, were so curious and exquisite, being as articles whereby to direct a survey, or framing a particular of her person, for complexion, favour, feature, stature, health, age, customs, behaviour, conditions, and estate, as, if the king had been young, a man would have judged him to be amorous: but, being ancient, it ought to be interpreted, that sure he was very chaste, for that he meant to find all things in one woman, and so to settle his affections without ranging. But in this match he was soon cooled, when he heard from his ambassadors, that this young queen had had a goodly jointure in the realm of Naples, well answered during the time of her uncle Frederick, yea and during the time of Lewis the French king, in whose division her revenue fell; but since the time that the kingdom was in Ferdinando's hands, all was assigned to the army and garrisons there, and she received only a pension or exhibition out of his coffers.

The other part of the inquiry had a grave and diligent return, informing the king at full of the present state of King Ferdinando. By this report it appeared to the king, that Ferdinando did continue the government of Castile as administrator unto his daughter Joan, by the title of Queen Isabella's will, and partly by the custom of the kingdom, as he pre-

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tended. And that all mandates and grants were expedited in the name of Joan his daughter, and himself as administrator, without mention of Philip her husband. And that King Ferdinando, howsoever he did dismiss himself of the name of King of Castile, yet meant to hold the kingdom without account, and in absolute command.

It appeareth also, that he flattered himself with hopes, that King Philip would permit unto him the government of Castile during his life; which he had laid his plot to work him unto, both by some counsellors of his about him, which Ferdinando had at his devotion, and chiefly by promise, that in case Philip gave not way unto it, he would marry some young lady, whereby to put him by the succession of Arragon and Granada, in case he should have a son; and lastly, by representing unto him that the government of the Burgundians, till Philip were by continuance in Spain made as natural of Spain, would not be endured by the Spaniards. But in all those things, though wisely laid down and considered, Ferdinando failed; but that Pluto was better to him than Pallas.

In the same report also, the ambassadors being mean men, and therefore the more free, did strike upon a string which was somewhat dangerous; for they declared plainly, that the people of Spain, both nobles and commons, were better affected unto the part of Philip, so he brought his wife with him, than to Ferdinando; and expressed the reason to be,

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because he had imposed upon them many taxes and tallages: which was the king's own case between him and his son.

There was also in this report a declaration of an overture of marriage, which Amason, the secretary of Ferdinando, had made unto the ambassadors in great secret, between Charles, Prince of Castile, and Mary, the king's second daughter; assuring the king, that the treaty of marriage then on foot for the said prince and the daughter of France, would break; and that she the said daughter of France should be married to Angolesme, that was the heir apparent of France.

There was a touch also of a speech of marriage between Ferdinando and Madame de Fois, a lady of the blood of France, which afterwards indeed succeeded. But this was reported as learned in France, and silenced in Spain.

The king, by the return of this embassage, which gave great light unto his affairs, was well instructed, and prepared how to carry himself between Ferdinando, King of Arragon, and Philip, his son-in-law, King of Castile; resolving with himself to do all that in him lay, to keep them at one within themselves; but howsoever that succeeded, by a moderate carriage, and bearing the person of a common friend, to lose neither of their friendships; but yet to run a course more entire with the King of Arragon, but more laboured and officious with the King of Castile. But he was much taken with the overture of

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marriage with his daughter Mary; both because it was the greatest marriage of Christendom, and for that it took hold of both allies.

But to corroborate his alliance with Philip, the winds gave him an interview: for Philip choosing the winter season, the better to surprise the King of Arragon, set forth with a great navy out of Flanders for Spain, in the month of January, the one and twentieth year of the king's reign. But himself was surprised with a cruel tempest, that scattered his ships upon the several coasts of England. And the ship wherein the king and queen were, with two other small barks only, torn and in great peril, to escape the fury of the weather thrust into Weymouth. King Philip himself, having not been used, as it seems, to sea, all wearied and extreme sick, would needs land to refresh his spirits, though it was against the opinion of his council, doubting it might breed delay, his occasions requiring celerity.

The rumour of the arrival of a puissant navy upon the coast made the country arm. And Sir Thomas Trenchard, with forces suddenly raised, not knowing what the matter might be, came to Weymouth; where understanding the accident, he did in all humbleness and humanity invite the king and queen to his house; and forthwith dispatched posts to the court. Soon after came Sir John Carew likewise, with a great troop of men well armed: using the like humbleness and respects towards the king, when he knew the case. King Philip doubting that they, being but subjects, durst not let him pass away

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again without the king's notice and leave, yielded to their intreaties to stay till they heard from the court. The king, as soon as he heard the news, commanded presently the Earl of Arundel to go to visit the King of Castile, and let him understand that as he was very sorry for his mishap, so he was glad that he had escaped the danger of the seas, and likewise of the occasion himself had to do him honour; and desiring him to think himself as in his own land; and that the king made all haste possible to come and embrace him. The earl came to him in great magnificence, with a brave troop of three hundred horse; and, for more state, came by torch-light. After he had done the king's message, King Philip seeing how the world went, the sooner to get away, went upon speed to the king at Windsor, and his queen followed by easy journeys. The two kings at their meeting used all the caresses and loving demonstrations that were possible. And the King of Castile said pleasantly to the king, "That he was "now punished for that he would not come within "his walled town of Calais, when they met last." But the king answered, "That walls and seas "were nothing where hearts were open; and that "he was here no otherwise but to be served." After a day or two's refreshing, the kings entered into speech of renewing the treaty; the king saying, that though King Philip's person were the same, yet his fortunes and state were raised: in which case a renovation of treaty was used amongst princes. But while these things were in handling, the king

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choosing a fit time, and drawing the King of Castile into a room, where they two only were private, and laying his hand civilly upon his arm, and changing his countenance a little from a countenance of entertainment, said to him, "Sir, you have been saved "upon my coast, I hope you will not suffer me to "wreck upon yours." The King of Castile asked him what he meant by that speech? "I mean it," saith the king, "by that same harebrain wild fellow, "my subject, the Earl of Suffolk, who is protected "in your country, and begins to play the fool, when "all others are weary of it." The King of Castile answered, "I had thought, sir, your felicity had "been above those thoughts; but, if it trouble you, "I will banish him." The king replied, "Those "hornets were best in their nest, and worst "when they did fly abroad; and that his de-"sire was to have him delivered to him." The King of Castile, herewith a little confused, and in a study, said, "That can I not do with my "honour, and less with yours; for you will be "thought to have used me as a prisoner." The king presently said, "Then the matter is at end, for "I will take that dishonour upon me, and so your "honour is saved." The King of Castile, who had the king in great estimation, and besides remembered where he was, and knew not what use he might have of the king's amity, for that himself was new in his estate of Spain, and unsettled both with his father-in-law and with his people, composing his countenance, said, "Sir, you give law to me, but

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" so will I to you. You shall have him, but, upon " your honour, you shall not take his life." The king embracing him said, " Agreed." Saith the king of Castile, " Neither shall it dislike you, if I send " to him in such a fashion, as he may partly come " with his own good will." The king said, " It was " well thought of; and if it pleased him, he would " join with him, in sending to the earl a message " to that purpose." They both sent severally, and mean while they continued feasting and pastimes. The king being, on his part, willing to have the earl sure before the King of Castile went; and the King of Castile being as willing to seem to be enforced. The king also, with many wise and excellent persuasions, did advise the King of Castile to be ruled by the counsel of his father-in-law Ferdinando; a prince so prudent, so experienced, so fortunate. The King of Castile, who was in no very good terms with his said father-in-law, answered, " That if his " father-in-law would suffer him to govern his king- " doms, he should govern him."

There were immediately messengers sent from both kings to recall the Earl of Suffolk; who, upon gentle words used to him, was soon charmed, and willing enough to return; assured of his life, and hoping of his liberty. He was brought through Flanders to Calais, and thence landed at Dover, and with sufficient guard delivered and received at the Tower of London. Mean while King Henry, to draw out the time, continued his feastings and entertainments, and after he had received the King of

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Castile into the fraternity of the Garter, and for a reciprocal had his son the prince admitted to the order of the Golden Fleece, he accompanied King Philip and his queen to the city of London, where they were entertained with the greatest magnificence and triumph, that could be upon no greater warning. And as soon as the Earl of Suffolk had been conveyed to the Tower, which was the serious part, the jollities had an end, and the kings took leave. Nevertheless during their being here, they in substance concluded that treaty, which the Flemings term "intercursus malus," and bears date at Windsor; for that there be some things in it, more to the advantage of the English than of them; especially, for that the free-fishing of the Dutch upon the coasts and seas of England, granted in the treaty of "un- "decimo," was not by this treaty confirmed. All articles that confirm former treaties being precisely and warily limited and confirmed to matter of commerce only, and not otherwise.

It was observed, that the great tempest which drave Philip into England, blew down the golden eagle from the spire of Pauls, and in the fall it fell upon a sign of the black eagle, which was in Pauls church-yard, in the place where the school-house now standeth, and battered it, and brake it down: which was a strange stooping of a hawk upon a fowl. This the people interpreted to be an ominous prognostic upon the imperial house, which was, by interpretation also, fulfilled upon Philip, the emperor's son, not only in the present disaster of the tempest,

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but in that that followed. For Philip arriving into Spain, and attaining the possession of the kingdom of Castile without resistance, insomuch as Ferdinando, who had spoke so great before, was with difficulty admitted to the speech of his son-in-law, sickened soon after, and deceased. Yet after such time, as there was an observation by the wisest of that court, that if he had lived, his father would have gained upon him in that sort, as he would have governed his councils and designs, if not his affections. By this all Spain returned into the power of Ferdinando in state as it was before; the rather, in regard of the infirmity of Joan his daughter, who loving her husband, by whom she had many children, dearly well, and no less beloved of him, howsoever her father, to make Philip ill-beloved of the people of Spain, gave out that Philip used her not well, was unable in strength of mind to bear the grief of his decease, and fell distracted of her wits. Of which malady her father was thought no ways to endeavour the cure, the better to hold his regal power in Castile. So that as the felicity of Charles the Eighth was said to be a dream; so the adversity of Ferdinando was said likewise to be a dream, it passed over so soon.

About this time the king was desirous to bring into the house of Lancaster celestial honour, and became suitor to Pope Julius, to canonize King Henry the Sixth for a saint, the rather, in respect of that his famous prediction of the king's own assumption to the crown. Julius referred the matter, as

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the manner is, to certain cardinals, to take the verification of his holy acts and miracles: but it died under the reference. The general opinion was, that Pope Julius was too dear, and that the king would not come to his rates. But it is more probable, that that pope, who was extremely jealous of the dignity of the see of Rome, and of the acts thereof, knowing that King Henry the Sixth was reputed in the world abroad but for a simple man, was afraid it would but diminish the estimation of that kind of honour, if there were not a distance kept between innocents and saints.

The same year likewise there proceeded a treaty of marriage between the king and the Lady Margaret, Duchess Dowager of Savoy, only daughter to Maximilian, and sister to the King of Castile; a lady wise, and of great good fame. This matter had been in speech between the two kings at their meeting, but was soon after resumed; and therein was employed for his first piece the king's then chaplain, and after the great prelate, Thomas Wolsey. It was in the end concluded, with great and ample conditions for the king, but with promise de futuro only. It may be the king was the rather induced unto it, for that he had heard more and more of the marriage to go on between his great friend and ally Ferdinando of Arragon, and Madame de Fois, whereby that king began to piece with the French king, from whom he had been always before severed. So fatal a thing it is, for the greatest and straitest amities of kings at one time or other, to have a little

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of the wheel; nay, there is a farther tradition in Spain, though not with us, that the King of Arragon, after he knew that the marriage between Charles, Prince of Castile, and Mary, the king's second daughter, went roundly on, (which though it was first moved by the King of Arragon, yet it was afterwards wholly advanced and brought to perfection by Maximilian, and the friends on that side,) entered into a jealousy that the king did aspire to the government of Castilia, as administrator during the minority of his son-in-law; as if there should have been a competition of three for that government; Ferdinando, grandfather on the mother's side; Maximilian, grandfather on the father's side; and King Henry, father-in-law to the young prince. Certainly it is not unlike, but the king's government, carrying the young prince with him, would have been perhaps more welcome to the Spaniards than that of the other two. For the nobility of Castilia, that so lately put out the King of Arragon in favour of King Philip, and had discovered themselves so far, could not be but in a secret distrust and distaste of that king. And as for Maximilian, upon twenty respects he could not have been the man. But this purpose of the king's seemeth to me, considering the king's safe courses, never found to be enterprizing or adventurous, not greatly probable, except he should have had a desire to breathe warmer, because he had ill lungs. This marriage with Margaret was protracted from time to time, in respect of the infirmity of the king, who now in the two and twentieth of his reign

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began to be troubled with the gout; but the defluxion taking also into his breast, wasted his lungs, so that thrice in a year, in a kind of return, and especially in the spring, he had great fits and labours of the phthisic: nevertheless, he continued to intend business with as great diligence, as before in his health: yet so, as upon this warning he did likewise now more seriously think of the world to come, and of making himself a saint, as well as King Henry the Sixth, by treasure better employed, than to be given to Pope Julius; for this year he gave greater alms than accustomed, and discharged all prisoners about the city, that lay for fees or debts under forty shillings. He did also make haste with religious foundations; and in the year following, which was the three and twentieth, finished that of the Savoy. And hearing also of the bitter cries of his people against the oppressions of Dudley and Empson, and their complices; partly by devout persons about him, and partly by public sermons, the preachers doing their duty therein, he was touched with great remorse for the same. Nevertheless Empson and Dudley, though they could not but hear of these scruples in the king's conscience; yet, as if the king's soul and his money were in several offices, that the one was not to intermeddle with the other, went on with as great rage as ever. For the same three and twentieth year was there a sharp prosecution against Sir William Capel now the second time; and this was for matters of misgovernment in his mayoralty: the great matter being, that in some payments he had taken knowledge of false

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moneys, and did not his diligence to examine and beat it out who were the offenders. For this and some other things laid to his charge, he was condemned to pay two thousand pounds; and being a man of stomach, and hardened by his former troubles, refused to pay a mite; and belike used some untoward speeches of the proceedings, for which he was sent to the Tower, and there remained till the king's death. Knesworth likewise, that had been lately Mayor of London, and both his sheriffs, were for abuses in their offices questioned, and imprisoned, and delivered upon one thousand four hundred pounds paid. Hawis, an alderman of London, was put in trouble, and died with thought and anguish, before his business came to an end. Sir Lawrence Ailmer, who had likewise been Mayor of London, and his two sheriffs, were put to the fine of one thousand pounds. And Sir Lawrence, for refusing to make payment, was committed to prison, where he stayed till Empson himself was committed in his place.

It is no marvel, if the faults were so light, and the rates so heavy, that the king's treasure of store, that he left at his death, most of it in secret places, under his own key and keeping, at Richmond, amounted, as by tradition it is reported to have done, unto the sum of near eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling; a huge mass of money even for these times.

The last act of state that concluded this king's temporal felicity, was the conclusion of a glorious match between his daughter Mary, and Charles, Prince of Castile, afterwards the great emperor, both

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being of tender years: which treaty was perfected by Bishop Fox, and other his commissioners at Calais, the year before the king's death. In which alliance, it seemeth, he himself took so high contentment, as in a letter which he wrote thereupon to the city of London, commanding all possible demonstrations of joy to be made for the same, he expresseth himself, as if he thought he had built a wall of brass about his kingdom: when he had for his sons-in-law, a king of Scotland, and a prince of Castile and Burgundy. So as now there was nothing to be added to this great king's felicity, being at the top of all worldly bliss, in regard of the high marriages of his children, his great renown throughout Europe, and his scarce credible riches, and the perpetual constancy of his prosperous successes, but an opportune death, to withdraw him from any future blow of fortune; which certainly (in regard of the great hatred of his people, and the title of his son, being then come to eighteen years of age, and being a bold prince and liberal, and that gained upon the people by his very aspect and presence) had not been impossible to have come upon him.

To crown also the last year of his reign, as well as his first, he did an act of piety, rare, and worthy to be taken into imitation. For he granted forth a general pardon: as expecting a second coronation in a better kingdom. He did also declare in his will, that his mind was, that restitution should be made of those sums which had been unjustly taken by his officers.

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And thus this Solomon of England, for Solomon also was too heavy upon his people in exactions, having lived two and fifty years, and thereof reigned three and twenty years, and eight months, being in perfect memory, and in a most blessed mind, in a great calm of a consuming sickness passed to a better world, the two and twentieth of April, 1508, at his palace of Richmond, which himself had built.

This king, to speak of him in terms equal to his deserving, was one of the best sort of wonders; a wonder for wise men. He had parts, both in his virtues and his fortune, not so fit for a common-place, as for observation. Certainly he was religious, both in his affection and observance. But as he could see clear, for those times, through superstition, so he would be blinded, now and then, by human policy. He advanced church-men: he was tender in the privilege of sanctuaries, though they wrought him much mischief. He built and endowed many religious foundations, besides his memorable hospital of the Savoy: and yet was he a great alms-giver in secret; which shewed, that his works in public were dedicated rather to God's glory than his own. He professed always to love and seek peace; and it was his usual preface in his treaties, that when Christ came into the world, peace was sung; and when he went out of the world, peace was bequeathed. And this virtue could not proceed out of fear or softness; for he was valiant and active, and therefore, no doubt, it was truly Christian and moral. Yet he

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knew the way to peace was not to seem to be desirous to avoid wars: therefore would he make offers and fames of wars, till he had mended the conditions of peace. It was also much, that one that was so great a lover of peace, should be so happy in war. For his arms, either in foreign or civil wars, were never unfortunate; neither did he know what a disaster meant. The war of his coming in, and the rebellions of the Earl of Lincoln, and the Lord Audley, were ended by victory. The wars of France and Scotland, by peaces sought at his hands. That of Britain, by accident of the duke's death. The insurrection of the Lord Lovel, and that of Perkin at Exeter, and in Kent, by flight of the rebels before they came to blows. So that his fortune of arms was still inviolate; the rather sure, for that in the quenching of the commotions of his subjects, he ever went in person: sometimes reserving himself to back and second his lieutenants, but ever in action; and yet that was not merely forwardness, but partly distrust of others.

He did much maintain and countenance his laws; which, nevertheless, was no impediment to him to work his will: for it was so handled, that neither prerogative nor profit went to diminution. And yet as he would sometimes strain up his laws to his prerogative, so would he also let down his prerogative to his parliament. For mint, and wars, and martial discipline, things of absolute power, he would nevertheless bring to parliament. Justice was well administered in his time, save where the king was

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party: save also, that the council-table intermeddled too much with "meum" and "tuum." For it was a very court of justice during his time, especially in the beginning; but in that part both of justice and policy, which is the durable part, and cut, as it were, in brass or marble, which is the making of good laws, he did excel. And with his justice, he was also a merciful prince: as in whose time, there were but three of the nobility that suffered; the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord Audley: though the first two were instead of numbers, in the dislike and obloquy of the people. But there were never so great rebellions, expiated with so little blood, drawn by the hand of justice, as the two rebellions of Blackheath and Exeter. As for the severity used upon those which were taken in Kent, it was but upon a scum of people. His pardons went ever both before and after his sword. But then he had withal a strange kind of interchanging of large and unexpected pardons, with severe executions; which, his wisdom considered, could not be imputed to any inconstancy or inequality; but either to some reason which we do not now know, or to a principle he had set unto himself, that he would vary, and try both ways in turn. But the less blood he drew, the more he took of treasure. And, as some construed it, he was the more sparing in the one, that he might be the more pressing in the other; for both would have been intolerable. Of nature assuredly he coveted to accumulate treasure, and was a little poor in admiring riches. The people, into

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whom there is infused, for the preservation of monarchies, a natural desire to discharge their princes, though it be with the unjust charge of their counsellors and ministers, did impute this unto cardinal Morton and Sir Reginald Bray, who, as it after appeared, as counsellors of ancient authority with him, did so second his humours, as nevertheless they did temper them. Whereas Empson and Dudley that followed, being persons that had no reputation with him, otherwise than by the servile following of his bent, did not give way only, as the first did, but shape him way to those extremities, for which himself was touched with remorse at his death, and which his successor renounced, and sought to purge. This excess of his had at that time many glosses and interpretations. Some thought the continual rebellions wherewith he had been vexed, had made him grow to hate his people: some thought it was done to pull down their stomachs, and to keep them low: some, for that he would leave his son a golden fleece: some suspected he had some high design upon foreign parts: but those perhaps shall come nearest the truth, that fetch not their reasons so far off: but rather impute it to nature, age, peace, and a mind fixed upon no other ambition or pursuit. Whereunto I should add, that having every day occasion to take notice of the necessities and shifts for money of other great princes abroad, it did the better, by comparison, set off to him the felicity of full coffers. As to his expending of treasure, he never spared charge which his affairs

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required: and in his buildings was magnificent, but his rewards were very limited: so that his liberality was rather upon his own state and memory than upon the deserts of others.

He was of an high mind, and loved his own will, and his own way; as one that revered himself, and would reign indeed. Had he been a private man, he would have been termed proud. But in a wise prince, it was but keeping of distance, which indeed he did towards all; not admitting any near or full approach, either to his power, or to his secrets, for he was governed by none. His queen, notwithstanding she had presented him with divers children, and with a crown also, though he would not acknowledge it, could do nothing with him. His mother he reverenced much, heard little. For any person agreeable to him for society, such as was Hastings to King Edward the Fourth, or Charles Brandon after to King Henry the Eighth, he had none: except we should account for such persons, Fox, and Bray, and Empson, because they were so much with him: but it was but as the instrument is much with the workman. He had nothing in him of vain glory, but yet kept state and majesty to the height; being sensible, that majesty maketh the people bow, but vain glory boweth to them.

To his confederates abroad he was constant and just, but not open. But rather such was his inquiry, and such his closeness, as they stood in the light towards him, and he stood in the dark to them. Yet without strangeness, but with a semblance of mutual

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communication of affairs. As for little envies, or emulations upon foreign princes, which are frequent with many kings, he had never any: but went substantially to his own business. Certain it is, that though his reputation was great at home, yet it was greater abroad. For foreigners that could not see the passages of affairs, but made their judgments upon the issues of them, noted that he was ever in strife, and ever aloft. It grew also from the airs which the princes and states abroad received from their ambassadors and agents here; which were attending the court in great number: whom he did not only content with courtesy, reward, and privateness: but, upon such conferences as passed with them, put them in admiration, to find his universal insight into the affairs of the world: which though he did suck chiefly from themselves, yet that which he had gathered from them all, seemed admirable to every one. So that they did write ever to their superiors in high terms, concerning his wisdom and art of rule; nay, when they were returned, they did commonly maintain intelligence with him. Such a dexterity be had to impropriate to himself all foreign instruments.

He was careful and liberal to obtain good intelligence from all parts abroad: wherein he did not only use his interest in the liegers here, and his pensioner, which he had both in the court of Rome, and other the courts of Christendom; but the industry and vigilancy of his own ambassadors in foreign parts. For which purpose his instructions

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were ever extreme, curious, and articulate: and in them more articles touching inquisition, than touching negotiation: requiring likewise from his ambassadors an answer, in particular distinct articles respectively to his questions.

As for his secret spials, which he did employ both at home and abroad, by them to discover what practices and conspiracies were against him, surely his case required it: he had such moles perpetually working and casting to undermine him. Neither can it be reprehended: for if spials be lawful against lawful enemies, much more against conspirators and traitors. But indeed to give them credence by oaths or curses, that cannot be well maintained: for those are too holy vestments for a disguise. Yet surely there was this further good in his employing of these flies and familiars; that as the use of them was cause that many conspiracies were revealed, so the fame and suspicion of them kept, no doubt, many conspiracies from being attempted.

Towards his queen he was nothing uxorious, nor scarce indulgent: but companiable and respective, and without jealousy. Towards his children he was full of paternal affection, careful of their education, aspiring to their high advancement, regular to see that they should not want of any due honour and respect, but not greatly willing to cast any popular lustre upon them.

To his council he did refer much, and sat oft in person: knowing it to be the way to assist his

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power, and inform his judgement. In which respect also he was fairly patient of liberty, both of advice, and of vote, till himself were declared. He kept a strait hand on his nobility, and chose rather to advance clergymen and lawyers, which were more obsequious to him, but had less interest in the people; which made for his absoluteness, but not for his safety. Insomuch as, I am persuaded, it was one of the causes of his troublesome reign; for that his nobles, though they were loyal and obedient, yet did not co-operate with him, but let every man go his own way. He was not afraid of an able man, as Lewis the Eleventh was; but contrariwise, he was served by the ablest men that were to be found; without which his affairs could not have prospered as they did. For war, Bedford, Oxford, Surrey, D'Aubigny, Brooke, Poynings: for other affairs, Morton, Fox, Bray, the Prior of Lanthony, Warham, Urswick, Hussey, Frowick, and others. Neither did he care how cunning they were that he did employ: for he thought himself to have the master-reach. And as he chose well, so he held them up well; for it is a strange thing, that though he were a dark prince, and infinitely suspicious, and his times full of secret conspiracies and troubles: yet in twenty-four years' reign, he never put down, or discomposed counsellor, or near servant, save only Stanley, the lord chamberlain. As for the disposition of his subjects in general towards him, it stood thus with him; that of the three affections, which naturally tie the hearts of the subjects to their sove-

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reigns, love, fear, and reverence; he had the last in height, the second in good measure, and so little of the first, as he was beholden to the other two.

He was a prince, sad, serious, and full of thoughts, and secret observations, and full of notes and memorials of his own hand, especially touching persons. As, whom to employ, whom to reward, whom to enquire of, whom to beware of, what were the dependencies, what were the factions, and the like; keeping, as it were, a journal of his thoughts. There is to this day a merry tale; that his monkey, set on as it was thought by one of his chamber, tore his principal note-book all to pieces, when by chance it lay forth: whereat the court, which liked not those pensive accounts, was almost tickled with sport.

He was indeed full of apprehensions and suspicions; but as he did easily take them, so he did easily check them and master them; whereby they were not dangerous, but troubled himself more than others. It is true, his thoughts were so many, as they could not well always stand together; but that which did good one way, did hurt another. Neither did he at sometimes weigh them aright in their proportions. Certainly, that rumour which did him so much mischief, that the Duke of York should be saved and alive, was, at the first, of his own nourishing; because he would have more reason not to reign in the right of his wife. He was affable, and both well and fair-spoken; and would use strange sweetness and blandishments of words, where he

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desired to effect or persuade any thing that he took to heart. He was rather studious than learned; reading most books that were of any worth, in the French tongue, yet he understood the Latin, as appeareth in that Cardinal Hadrian and others, who could very well have written French, did use to write to him in Latin.

For his pleasures, there is no news of them; and yet by his instructions to Marsin and Stile, touching the Queen of Naples, it seemeth he could interrogate well touching beauty. He did by pleasures, as great princes do by banquets, come and look a little upon them, and turn away. For never prince was more wholly given to his affairs, nor in them more of himself: insomuch as in triumphs of justs and tourneys, and balls, and masks, which they then called disguises, he was rather a princely and gentle spectator, than seemed much to be delighted.

No doubt, in him, as in all men, and most of all in kings, his fortune wrought upon his nature, and his nature upon his fortune. He attained to the crown, not only from a private fortune, which might endow him with moderation; but also from the fortune of an exiled man, which had quickened in him all seeds of observation and industry. And his times being rather prosperous than calm, had raised his confidence by success, but almost marred his nature by troubles. His wisdom, by often evading from perils, was turned rather into a dexterity to deliver himself from dangers, when they pressed him, than into a providence to prevent and remove them afar

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off. And even in nature, the sight of his mind was like some sights of eyes; rather strong at hand, than to carry afar off. For his wit increased upon the occasion: and so much the more, if the occasion were sharpened by danger. Again, whether it were the shortness of his foresight, or the strength of his will, or the dazzling of his suspicions, or what it was, certain it is, that the perpetual troubles of his fortunes, there being no more matter out of which they grew, could not have been without some great defects and main errors in his nature, customs, and proceedings, which he had enough to do to save and help with a thousand little industries and watches. But those do best appear in the story itself. Yet take him with all his defects, if a man should compare him with the kings his concurrents in France and Spain, he shall find him more politic than Lewis the Twelfth of France, and more entire and sincere than Ferdinando of Spain. But if you shall change Lewis the Twelfth for Lewis the Eleventh, who lived a little before, then the consort is more perfect. For that Lewis the Eleventh, Ferdinando, and Henry, may be esteemed for the "tres magi" of kings of those ages. To conclude, if this king did no greater matters, it was long of himself: for what he minded he compassed.

He was a comely personage, a little above just stature, well and straight limbed, but slender. His countenance was reverend, and a little like a churchman: and as it was not strange or dark, so neither

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was it winning or pleasing, but as the face of one well disposed. But it was to the disadvantage of the painter, for it was best when he spake.

His worth may bear a tale or two, that may put upon him somewhat that may seem divine. When the Lady Margaret his mother had divers great suitors for marriage, she dreamed one night, that one in the likeness of a bishop in pontifical habit did tender her Edmund, Earl of Richmond, the king's father, for her husband, neither had she ever any child but the king, though she had three husbands. One day when King Henry the Sixth, whose innocency gave him holiness, was washing his hands at a great feast, and cast his eye upon King Henry, then a young youth, he said; "This is the lad that shall possess quietly that, that we now strive for." But that, that was truly divine in him, was that he had the fortune of a true Christian, as well as of a great king in living exercised, and dying repentant: so as he had an happy warfare in both conflicts, both of sin and the cross.

He was born at Pembroke castle, and lieth buried at Westminster, in one of the stateliest and daintiest monuments of Europe, both for the chapel and for the sepulchre. So that he dwelleth more richly dead, in the monument of his tomb, than he did alive in Richmond, or any of his palaces. I could wish he did the like in this monument of his fame.

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THE

HISTORY OF THE REIGN

OF

KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

After the decease of that wise and fortunate King, Henry the Seventh, who died in the height of his prosperity, there followed, as useth to do, when the sun setteth so exceeding clear, one of the fairest mornings of a kingdom that hath been known in this land or any where else. A young king, about eighteen years of age, for stature, strength, making, and beauty, one of the goodliest persons of his time. And though he were given to pleasure, yet he was likewise desirous of glory; so that there was a passage open in his mind, by glory, for virtue. Neither was he unadorned with learning, though therein he came short of his brother Arthur. He had never any the least pique, difference, or jealousy with the king his father, which might give any occasion of altering court or council upon the change; but all things passed in a still. He was the first heir of the white and red rose; so that there was no discontented party now left in the kingdom, but all men's hearts turned towards him: and not only their hearts, but their eyes also; for he was the only son of the kingdom. He had no brother; which though it be

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a comfortable thing for kings to have, yet it draweth the subjects' eyes a little aside. And yet being a married man in those young years, it promised hope of speedy issue to succeed in the crown. Neither was there any queen-mother, who might share any way in the government, or clash with his counsellors for authority, while the king intended his pleasure. No such thing as any great and mighty subject, who might any wise eclipse or overshade the imperial power. And for the people and state in general, they were in such lowness of obedience, as subjects were like to yield, who had lived almost four and twenty years under so politic a king as his father; being also one who came partly in by the sword; and had so high courage in all points of regality; and was ever victorious in rebellions and seditions of the people. The crown extremely rich, and full of treasure, and the kingdom like to be so in a short time. For there was no war, no dearth, no stop of trade, or commerce: it was only the crown which had sucked too hard, and now being full, and upon the head of a young king, was like to draw less. Lastly, he was inheritor of his father's reputation, which was great throughout the world. He had strait alliance with the two neighbour states, an ancient enemy in former times, and an ancient friend, Scotland and Burgundy. He had peace and amity with France, under the assurance, not only of treaty and league, but of necessity and inability in the French to do him hurt, in respect that the French king's designs were wholly bent upon Italy: so that

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it may be truly said, there had scarcely been seen, or known, in many ages, such a rare concurrence of signs and promises, of a happy and flourishing reign to ensue, as were now met in this young king, call after his father's name, Henry the Eighth . . . .

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THE

BEGINNING

OF THE

HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

By the decease of Elizabeth, Queen of England, the issues of King Henry the Eighth failed, being spent in one generation and three successions. For that king, though he were one of the goodliest persons of his time, yet he left only by his six wives three children; who reigning successively, and dying childless, made place to the line of Margaret, his eldest sister, married to James the Fourth, King of Scotland, descended of the same Margaret both by father and mother: so that by a rare event in the pedigrees of kings, it seemed as if the divine Providence, to extinguish and take away all envy and note of a stranger, had doubled upon his person, within the circle of one age, the royal blood of England by both parents. This succession drew towards it the eyes of all men, being one of the most memorable accidents that had happened a long time in the Christian world. For the kingdom of France having been reunited in the age before in all the provinces thereof formerly dismembered: and the kingdom of Spain being, of more fresh memory, united and made entire, by the annexing of Portugal in the person of

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Philip the Second; there remained but this third and last union, for the counterpoising of the power of these three great monarchies; and the disposing of the affairs of Europe thereby to a more assured and universal peace and concord. And this event did hold men's observations and discourses the more, because the island of Great Britain, divided from the rest of the world, was never before united in itself under one king, notwithstanding also that the uniting of them had been in former times industriously attempted both by war and treaty. Therefore it seemed a manifest work of providence, and a case of reservation for these times; insomuch that the vulgar conceived that now there was an end given, and a consummation to superstitious prophecies, the belief of fools, but the talk sometimes of wise men, and to an ancient tacit expectation, which had by tradition been infused and inveterated into men's minds. But as the best divinations and predictions are the politic and probable foresight and conjectures of wise men, so in this matter the providence of King Henry the Seventh was in all men's mouths; who being one of the deepest and most prudent princes of the world, upon the deliberation concerning the marriage of his eldest daughter into Scotland, had, by some speech uttered by him, shewed himself sensible and almost prescient of this event.

Neither did there want a concurrence of divers rare external circumstances, besides the virtues and condition of the person, which gave great reputation

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to this succession. A king in the strength of his years, supported with great alliances abroad, established with royal issue at home, at peace with all the world, practised in the regiment of such a kingdom, as might rather enable a king by variety of accidents, than corrupt him with affluence or vain-glory; and one that besides his universal capacity and judgement, was notably exercised and practised in matters of religion and the church: which in these times, by the confused use of both swords, are become so intermixed with considerations of estate, as most of the counsels of sovereign princes or republics depend upon them: but nothing did more fill foreign nations with admiration and expectation of his succession, than the wonderful, and, by them, unexpected consent of all estates and subjects of England, for the receiving of the king without the least scruple, pause, or question. For it had been generally dispersed by the fugitives beyond the seas, who, partly to apply themselves to the ambition of foreigners, and partly to give estimation and value to their own employments, used to represent the state of England in a false light, that after Queen Elizabeth's decease there must follow in England nothing but confusions, interreigns, and perturbations of estate, likely far to exceed the ancient calamities of the civil wars between the houses of Lancaster and York, by how much more the dissentions were like to be more mortal and bloody, when foreign competition should be added to domestical, and divisions for religion to matter of title to the crown. And in special, Par-

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sons the Jesuit, under a disguised name, had not long before published an express treatise, wherein, whether his malice made him believe his own fancies, or whether he thought it the fittest way to move sedition, like evil spirits, which seem to foretel the tempest they mean to move, he laboured to display and give colour to all the vain pretences and dreams of succession which he could imagine; and thereby had possessed many abroad that knew not the affairs here with those his vanities. Neither wanted there here within this realm, divers persons both wise and well affected, who, though they doubted not of the undoubted right, yet setting before themselves the waves of people's hearts, guided no less by sudden and temporary winds, than by the natural course and motion of the waters, were not without fear what might be the event. For Queen Elizabeth being a princess of extreme caution, and yet one that loved admiration above safety; and knowing the declaration of a successor might in point of safety be disputable, but in point of admiration and respect assuredly to her disadvantage; had, from the beginning, set it down for a maxim of estate, to impose a silence touching succession. Neither was it only reserved as a secret of estate, but restrained by severe laws, that no man should presume to give opinion, or maintain argument touching the same: so, though the evidence of right drew all the subjects of the land to think one thing; yet the fear of danger of law made no man privy to other's thought. And therefore it rejoiced all men to see so fair a morning

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of a kingdom, and to be thoroughly secured of former apprehensions; as a man that awaketh out of a fearful dream. But so it was, that not only the consent, but the applause and joy was infinite, and not to be expressed, throughout the realm of England upon this succession: whereof the consent, no doubt, may be truly ascribed to the clearness of the right; but the general joy, alacrity, and gratulation, were the effects of differing causes. For Queen Elizabeth, although she had the use of many both virtues and demonstrations, that might draw and knit unto her the hearts of her people; yet nevertheless carrying a hand restrained in gift, and strained in points of prerogative, could not answer the votes either of servants or subjects to a full contentment; especially in her latter days, when the continuance of her reign, which extended to five and forty years, might discover in people their natural desire and inclination towards change: so that a new court and a new reign were not to many unwelcome. Many were glad, and especially those of settled estate and fortune, that the fears and uncertainties were overblown, and that the dye was cast. Others, that had made their way with the king, or offered their service in the time of the former Queen, thought now the time was come for which they had prepared: and generally all such as had any dependence upon the late Earl of Essex, who had mingled the service of his own ends with the popular pretence of advancing the king's title, made account their cause was amended. Again, such as might misdoubt they had given the king any

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occasion of distaste, did contend by their forwardness and confidence to shew, it was but their fastness to the former government, and that those affections ended with the time. The papists nourished their hopes, by collating the case of the papists in England, and under Queen Elizabeth, and the case of the papists in Scotland under the king: interpreting that the condition of them in Scotland was the less grievous, and divining of the king's government here accordingly: besides the comfort they ministered to themselves from the memory of the Queen his mother. The ministers, and those which stood for the presbytery, thought their cause had more sympathy with the discipline of Scotland than the hierarchy of England, and so took themselves to be a degree nearer their desires. Thus had every condition of persons some contemplation of benefit, which they promised themselves; over-reaching perhaps, according to the nature of hope, but yet not without some probable ground of conjecture. At which time also there came forth in print the king's book, intituled, Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον: containing matter of instruction to the prince his son touching the office of a king; which book falling into every man's hand, filled the whole realm, as with a good perfume or incense, before the king's coming in; for being excellently written, and having nothing of affectation, it did not only satisfy better than particular reports touching the king's disposition, but far exceeded any formal or curious edict or declaration, which could have been devised of that nature, wherewith the princess in the

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beginning of their reigns do use to grace themselves, or at least express themselves gracious in the eyes of their people. And this was for the general the state and constitution of men's minds upon this change; the actions themselves passed in this manner.

. . . . . .

The rest is wanting.

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OF

THE STATE OF EUROPE.

[Written about the year 1580.]

In the consideration of the present state of Christendom, depending on the inclinations and qualities of the princes, governors of the same, first the person of the pope, acknowledged for supreme of the princes catholic, may be brought forth.

Gregory XIII. of the age of seventy years, by surname Boncompagno, born in Bolonia of the meanest state of the people, his father a shoemaker by occupation; of no great learning nor understanding, busy rather in practice, than desirous of wars, and that rather to further the advancement of his son and his house, a respect highly regarded of all the popes, than of any inclination of nature, the which, yet in these years, abhorreth not his secret pleasures. Howbeit, two things especially have set so sharp edge to him, whereby he doth bend himself so vehemently against religion. The one is a mere necessity, the other the solicitation of the King of Spain. For, if we consider duly the estate of the present time, we shall find that he is not so much carried with the desire to suppress our religion, as driven with the fear of the downfal of his own, if in time it be not upheld and restored.

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The reasons be these: he seeth the King of Spain already in years, and worn with labour and troubles, that there is little hope in him of long life. And he failing, there were likely to ensue great alterations of state in all his dominions, the which should be joined with the like in religion, especially in this divided time, and in Spain, already so forward, as the fury of the inquisition can scarce keep in.

In France, the state of that church seemeth to depend on the sole life of the king now reigning, being of a weak constitution, full of infirmities, not likely to have long life, and quite out of hope of any issue. Of the Duke of Anjou he doth not assure himself; besides the opinion conceived of the weakness of the complexion of all that race, giving neither hope of length of life nor of children. And the next to the succession make already profession of the reformed religion, besides the increase thereof daily in France; England and Scotland are already, God be thanked, quite reformed, with the better part of Germany. And because the queen's majesty hath that reputation to be the defender of the true religion and faith; against her majesty, as the head of the faithful, is the drift of all their mischiefs.

The King of Spain having erected, in his conceit, a monarchy, wherein seeking reputation in the protection of religion, this conjunction with the pope is as necessary to him for the furtherance of his purposes, as to the pope behoveful for the advancing of his house, and for his authority; the King of

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Spain having already bestowed on the pope's son, degree of title and of office, with great revenues. To encourage the pope herein, being head of the church, they set before him the analogy of the name Gregory, saying, that we were first under a Gregory brought to the faith, and by a Gregory are again to be reduced to the obedience of Rome.

A prophecy likewise is found out that foretelleth, "the dragon sitting in the chair of Peter, "great things should be brought to pass."

Thus is the King of France solicited against those of the religion in France; the emperor against those in his dominions; divisions set in Germany; the Low Countries miserably oppressed; and daily attempts against her majesty, both by force and practice; hereto serve the seminaries, where none are now admitted, but those who take the oath against her majesty.

The sect of the Jesuits are special instruments to alienate the people from her majesty, so faction, and to absolve them of the oath of obedience, and prepare the way to rebellion and revolt.

Besides, for confirmation of their own religion they have used some reformation of the clergy, and brought in catechizing.

TO GO FORTHWITH THE PRINCES OF ITALY, NEXT IN SITUATION.

The great Duke of Tuscany, Francisco de Medici, son to Cosmo, and the third duke of that family and province; of the age of forty years, of

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disposition severe and sad, rather than manly and grave; no princely port or behaviour more than a great justicer; inclined to peace, and gathering money. All Tuscany is subject unto him, wherein were divers commonwealths; whereof the chief were Florence, Siena, and Pisa, Prato, and Pistoia, saving Lucca, and certain forts on the sea-coast, held by the King of Spain.

He retaineth in his service few, and they strangers, to whom he giveth pensions. In all his citadels he hath garrison of Spaniards, except at Siena: in housekeeping spendeth little, being as it were in pension, agreeing for so much the year with a citizen of Florence for his diet: he has a small guard of Swissers, and when he rideth abroad a guard of forty light horsemen. The militia of his country amounteth to forty thousand soldiers, to the which he granteth leave to wear their weapons on the holy days, and other immunities. Besides, he entertaineth certain men of arms, to the which he giveth seven crowns the month. He also maintaineth seven galleys, the which serve under his knights, erected by his father in Pisa, of the order of St. Stephano: of these galleys three go every year in chase.

His common exercise is in distillations, and in trying of conclusions, the which he doth exercise in a house called Cassino in Florence, where he spendeth the most part of the day; giving ear in the mean season to matters of affairs, and conferring with his chief officers. His revenues are esteemed to amount to a million and a half of crowns, of the which

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spending half a million, he layeth up yearly one million. But certainly he is the richest prince in all Europe of coin. The form of his government is absolute, depending only of his will and pleasure, though retaining in many things the ancient officers and shew. But those magistrates resolve nothing without his express directions and pleasure. Privy council he useth none, but reposeth much his trust on sound secretaries, and conferreth chiefly with his wife, as his father did with one of his secretaries. For matter of examinations, one Corbolo hath the especial trust; he doth favour the people more than the nobility, because they do bear an old grudge to the gentlemen, and the people are the more in number, without whom the nobility can do nothing. One thing in him giveth great contentment to the subjects, that he vouchsafeth to receive and hear all their petitions himself. And in his absence from Florence, those that have suit do resort to the office, and there exhibit their bill endorsed; whereof within three days absolute answer is returned them, unless the matter be of great importance, then have they direction how to proceed. He is a great justicer; and for the ease of the people, and to have the better eye over justice, hath built hard by his palace a fair row of houses for all offices together in one place.

Two years sithence he married la Signora Bianca his concubine, a Venetian of Casa Capelli, whereby he entered straiter amity with the Venetians: with the pope he had good intelligence, and

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some affinity by the marriage of Signor Jacomo, the pope's son, in Casa Sforza.

To the emperor he is allied, his first wife being the Emperor Maximilian's sister.

With Spain he is in strait league, and his mother was of the house of Toledo; his brother likewise, D. Pietro, married in the same house. With France he standeth at this present in some misliking.

With Ferrara always at jar, as with all the Dukes of Italy for the preseance in some controversy.

All his revenues arise of taxes and customs: his domains are very small.

He hath by his first wife one son, of the age of four or five years, and four daughters; he hath a base child by this woman, and a base brother, D. Joanni, sixteen years of age, of great expectation.

Two brothers, D. Pietro, and the cardinal.

The Duke of Ferrara, Alfonso d'Este, the fifth duke, now about forty years of age; his first wife Lucretia, daughter to Cosmo de Medici, whom they say he poisoned; his second, daughter to Ferdinand the emperor? his third wife now living, Anne daughter to the Duke of Mantua. He hath no child. The chief cities of his state are Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio: he is rich in money, growing, as the most of Italy, of exactions; of all the princes of Italy alone inclineth to the French; with the pope hath some jar about the passage of a river. The Venetians and he fall in great hatred; with Florence hath enmity; with Lucca little skirmishes every year for a castle he buildeth on their confines, to raise a

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great toll in a strait passage, by reason of his mother a Guise.

William, of the house of Gonsaga, the third Duke of Mantua; his wife Barbara, daughter to the Emperor Ferdinand, by whom he hath a son of twenty-two years of age, and a daughter. His son is called Vincentio, his daughter Anne married of late to the Duke of Ferrara; his son likewise married a year sithence to the Prince of Parma's daughter. The duke his self very deformed and crook-backed, well in years, Montferrat likewise appertaineth to him. Divers of his house have pension always, and serve the King of Spain; his brother, the Duke of Nevers, remaineth in France. He only seeketh to maintain his estate and enrich himself; his greatest pleasure is in horses and building.

The Duke of Urbin, Francesco Maria, of the house of Roveré, the second of that name, a prince of good behaviour and witty. In his state are seven reasonable fair cities; Pesaro, Augubio, Sinigaglia, Fossombrone, Sanleo, Cagli, Urbino; Pesaro and Sinigaglia are fortresses on the sea-side, Urbin and Sanleo on the Apennine, well fortified. He holdeth three provinces, Montefeltro, Massa Trebaria, and Vicariato di Mondavio.

There have been good princes and valiant of that house, not so great exactors as the rest of Italy therefore better beloved of their subjects, which love restored their house, being displaced by Pope Leo X.

His wife Leonora, sister to the Duke of Ferrara, by whom he hath no children, and now is divorced. He hath two sisters, the one married to the Duke of

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Gravina, the other to the Prince Bisignano, and a third is to marry, whose name is Lavinia.

Ottaviano, first Duke of Castro, then of Camerino, and after of Parma and Piacenza, with great trouble restored to his estate; now is aged and liveth quietly: his wife Marguerite, daughter to Charles the Fifth, first wife to Alexander de Medici, first Duke of Florence. He hath one son called Alexander, now general for the King of Spain in the Low Countries; his daughter Vittoria was mother to the Duke of Urbin.

The Cardinal Farnese, his uncle, of great credit in that college, long time hath aspired to be pope, but withstood by the King of Spain; on whom though now that house depend, yet forgetteth not, as he thinketh, the death of Pier Luigi, and the loss of Parma and Piacenza, restored to their house by the French.

The young princes of Mirandola, in the government of their mother Fulvia Correggio, and under the protection of the King of France, who maintaineth there a garrison.

The Duke of Savoy, Carlo Emanuel, a young prince of twenty-one years, very little of stature, but well brought up and disposed. His territory is the greatest of any Duke of Italy, having Piemont beyond the Alps, and Savoy on this side; divers fair towns and strongholds, richly left of his father, who was accounted a very wise prince. This duke, as is thought, is advised to remain always indifferent

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between Spain and France, being neighbour to them both, unless some accident do counsel him to declare himself in behalf of either. Therefore both those princes go about by marriage to have him nearer allied to them. His mother was sister to King Francis the Great; his father being expulsed his dominions by the French, was restored by the King of Spain, with whom while he lived he had strait intelligence. As yet his inclination doth not appear, he retaineth his father's alliances with Venice, especially in Italy, and with the emperor. With Florence he hath question for pre-eminence.

His revenues are judged to a million of crowns yearly; now he is in arms against Geneva, and guarded against Bern.

Of free estates, Lucca the least, is under the protection of the King of Spain: small in territory: the city itself well fortified and provided, because of the doubt they have of the Duke of Florence.

Genoa is recommended to the King of Spain, their galleys serve under him, and the chiefest of their city are at his devotion. Though there is a faction for the French, whereto he doth hearken so weakly, that the Spaniard is there all in all; by whom that state in few years hath made a marvellous gain. And the King of Spain hath great need of their friendship for their ports, where embark and land all men, and whatsoever is sent between Spain and Milan.

They hold Corsica an island, and Savona a fair

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city, and the goodliest haven in Italy, until it was destroyed by the Genevois; the which now make no profession but of merchandise.

There is a dangerous faction amongst them, between the ancient houses and the new, which were admitted into the ancient families.

St. George is their treasure-house and receiver, as at Venice St. Mark.

Venice retaining still the ancient form of government, is always for itself in like estate and all one; at this time between the Turk and the King of Spain, in continual watch, seeming to make more account of France, so much in hope of any great affiance at this present to be had in him, but for the reputation of that nation, and the amity always they have had with the same, and behoving them so to do. They use it with good foresight and speedy preventing, sparing for no charge to meet as they may with every accident. Of late they have had some jar with the pope, as well about the inquisition as title of land. With Ferrara and the Venetians is ancient enmity, specially because he receiveth all their banished and fugitives. They make most account of the Duke of Savoy amongst the Princes of Italy. They maintain divers ambassadors abroad, with the Turk, the emperor, France, Spain, and at Rome; with them is an ambassador of France and Savoy always resident, and an agent of Spain, because they gave the preseance to France.

In this it seemeth all the potentates of Italy do agree to let all private grudges give place to foreign

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invasion, more for doubt of alteration in religion, than for any other civil cause.

There is none amongst them at this day in any likelihood to grow to any greatness. For Venice is bridled by the Turk and Spain. The Duke of Tuscany seeketh rather title than territory, otherwise than by purchasing.

Savoy is yet young; the rest of no great force of themselves. France hath greatly lost the reputation they had in Italy, by neglecting the occasions offered, and suffering the King of Spain to settle himself.

The Emperor Adolphe, of the house of Austriche, son to Maximilian, about thirty years of age; no strong constitution of body, and greatly weakened by immoderate pleasure; no great quickness of spirit. In fashion and apparel all Spanish, where he had his education in his youth. He was most governed by his mother while she remained with him; and yet altogether by his steward Dyetristan, and his great chamberlain Romphe, both pensionaries of Spain, and there with him maintained.

Of the empire he hath by the last imperial diet one million of dollars towards the maintenance of the garrisons of Hungary; and, besides, his guards are paid of the empire.

To the Turk he payeth yearly tribute for Hungary forty thousand dollars, besides the charge of the presents and his ambassadors, amounting to more than the tribute; in all one hundred thousand dollars.

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The ordinary garrisons in Hungary are to the number of but evil paid at this time.

The revenues and subsidies of Hungary do not pass one hundred thousand florins. The last emperor affirmed solemnly that the charge of Hungary amounted to one million and a half.

The revenues of Bohemia, ordinary and extraordinary, amount to fifty thousand dollars.

In the absence of the emperor, the Baron of Rosemberg is Governor of Bohemia, who possesseth almost a fourth part of that country, and is a papist; neither he nor his brother have children: he beareth the emperor in hand to make him his heir.

Of Silesia and Moravia, the emperor yearly may have two hundred thousand florins.

Out of Austriche of subsidy and tribute one hundred thousand florins, for his domains are all sold away and engaged.

Thus all his revenues make half a million of florins.

To his brothers Maximilian and Ernest he alloweth yearly, by agreement made between them, forty-five thousand florins apiece, as well for Austriche, as that might hereafter fall unto them by the decease of the Archduke Ferdinand in Tyrol, the which shall come to the emperor.

The emperor altogether dependeth on Spain, as well in respect of his house, as the education he received there, and the rule his mother hath over him with the chief of his council. He is utter enemy to

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religion, having well declared the same in banishing the ministers out of Vienna, and divers other towns, where he goeth about to plant Jesuits.

Of his subjects greatly misliked, as his house is hateful to all Germany.

The Archduke Charles holdeth Styria and Carinthia; his chief abode is at Gratz; his wife is sister to the Duke of Bavyre, by whom he hath children.

The Archduke Ferdinand hath Tyrol, and remaineth the most part at Ilsburg. For his eldest son he hath bought in Germany a pretty state, not far from Ulms; the second is a cardinal. Now he is a widower, and said that he shall marry a daughter of the Duke of Mantua.

These are uncles to the emperor; besides Maximilian and Ernest, he hath two brothers, the Archduke Matthias, that hath a pension of the estates of the Low Country, and a Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo.

In Germany there are divers princes diversly affected. The Elector Palatine Ludovic, a Lutheran; his chief abode is at Heidelberg,

His brother, John Casimir, Calvinist, at Keiserslautern, or Nieustadt.

Richard their uncle at Symyers.

During the life of the last elector, Ludovic dwelt at Amberg in the Higher Palatinate.

Philip Ludovic dwelt at Norbourg on the Danow, and is commonly called duke of.

John dwelleth at Rypont, or Sweybourgh, or

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Bergesaber; the other three brethren have no certain dwelling-place. George John, son of Rupert, Count Palatine, dwelleth at Lysselsteyn.

Augustus, Duke and Elector of Saxony, remaineth the most part at Dresden on the Elbe; sometimes at Torge on Elbe, a goodly castle fortified by John Frederick. This elector is Lutheran, and a great enemy to our profession; of sixty years of age, half frantic, severe, governed much by his wife, greater exactor than the German princes are wont to be, and retaineth in his service divers Italians; his eldest son married of late the daughter of the Duke of Brandebourg.

The sons of John Frederick, captive, and yet in prison, remain at Coburge in East Franconia, near the forest of Turinge.

The sons of John William, abide at Vinaria in Turingia.

Joachim Frederick, son of John George, Elector of Brandebourg, at Hala in Saxony on the river of Sala, as administrator of the Archbishopric of Magdebourg.

George Frederick, son of George, dwelleth at Orsbuche in East Franconia, or at Blassenbourge, the which was the mansion of his uncle Albert the warrior.

The Elector of Brandebourg, John George, remaineth at Berlin on the river of Sprea: his uncle John dwelleth at Castryne, beyond Odera, very strong both by the situation, and fortified.

William, Duke of Bavyre, a papist, at Munich

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in Bavary, married the daughter of the Duke of Lorrain.

His second brother Ferdinand remaineth most at Landshutt.

The third, Ernest, is Bishop of Frishinghen and Hildesheim, and late of Liege.

Julius, Duke of Brunswick, at the strong castle of Wolfenbuttel on Oker.

Ericke of Brunswick, son to Magnus, uncle to Julius, remaineth at Mynda, or where the rivers of Werra and Fulda do join, making the river of Visurgis navigable.

William, Duke of Luneburg hath his being at Cella, on the river Albera.

Henry his brother at Grysorn, where, before, their uncle Francis was wont to dwell.

Otho their cousin, Duke of Luneburg, inhabiteth Harbourg, on this side the Elbe, over-right against Hamburgh.

The Dukes of Pomerania, John Frederick dwelleth at Stetin.

Bugeslaus at Campena, some time an abbey in the county of Bardruse.

Ernest Ludovick at Wolgast, on the river of Panis that runneth into the Baltick sea.

Barmin at Ragenwald in Further Pomerania, on the borders of Poland and Prussia.

Casimire at Camyn, which bishoprick he holdeth, either as administrator, or in his own possession and right.

Ulricke, Duke of Meckelbourg, remaineth most

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at Gustrow; his brother John Albert dwelleth at Swerin, whose two sons are in the court of the Duke of Saxon.

Adolph, Duke of Holst and Dytmarch; his chief seat is at Gottorp in the Duchy of Sleswick.

John his elder brother, unmarried, hath his abode at Hadersberge: John, son to Christiern, King of Denmark, and brother to the Duke of Holst, and to Frederick now King of Denmark, Bishop of Oeselya and Courland in Livonia.

William, Duke of Juliers, Cleve, and Bergin, hath his court at Dusseldorp in the Dukedom of Bergense.

William, Landgrave of Hesse dwelleth at Cassel on Fulda.

Ludovick at Marpurge.

Philip at Brubache on the Rhine.

George at Darmstadt.

Ludovick, Duke of Wirtenberge, his chief house at Stutgard.

Frederick at Montbelgard.

The Marquises of Bathe: the elder Ernest, the second Jacob, the third brother yet younger; their chief dwelling-place is at Forsheim, or at Durlach.

The sons of Philip at the Bath called Badan.

Ernest Joachim, prince of Anhalt, at Zerbest, in the midway between Magdebourg and Wittemberg; his other mansion is at Dessau on Mylda, where he was born, new built and fortified by his grandfather Ernest: he hath besides the castle of Cathenen, the

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which was the habitation of Wolfgang prince of Anhalt his great uncle; Ernest favoureth religion.

George Ernest, Prince and Earl of Henneberg, at Schlewsing, by the forest called Turing.

George, Duke of Silesia and Brieke, of the family of the Kings of Poland, dwelleth at Brieke; his eldest son, Joachim Frederick, hath married the daughter of the Prince of Anhalt; his second son, John George.

Henry, Duke of Silesia and Lignitz, son to the brother of George, dwelleth at Lignitz; he hath no children alive.

Frederick, brother to Henry, unmarried.

Charles, Duke of Munsterburg and Olsse, his wife the Countess of Sternberg in Bohemia, where he maketh his abode.

Henry, brother to Charles, remained at Olsse.

John Frederick, Duke of Teschen.

Charles, Duke of Lorrain, his chief court at Nancy.

His eldest son Henry of man's estate.

Charles, Cardinal Archbishop of Metes.

A daughter in the French court.

Besides, there are in Germany three electors bishops, and divers bishops of great livings.

The free towns of greatest importance are Noremberg, Auspurg, Ulmes, and Strasburg: then the cantons of the Swisses, the Grisons, and Valois.

The greatest trouble in Germany at this time is about the concordate, furthered by the Duke of Saxon, and the Count Palatine.

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There is at this present no prince in Germany greatly toward or redoubted.

The Duke Casimir's credit is greatly impaired, and his ability small.

The diet imperial shortly should be held, where the concordate shall be urged, collection for Hungary made, and a King of Romans named.

The French king, Henry the Third, of thirty years of age, of a very weak constitution, and full of infirmities; yet extremely given over to his wanton pleasures, having only delight in dancing, feasting, and entertaining ladies, and chamber-pleasures: no great wit, yet a comely behaviour and goodly personage, very poor, through exacting inordinately by all devices of his subjects greatly repining that revenge and hungry government, abhorring wars and all action, yet daily worketh the ruin of those he hateth, as all of the religion and the house of Bourbon; doting fondly on some he chooseth to favour extremely, without any virtue or cause of desert in them, to whom he giveth prodigally. His chief favourites now about him are the Duke Joyeuse, la Valette, and Monsieur D'Au. The queen-mother ruleth him rather by policy and fear he hath of her, than by his good will: yet he always doth shew great reverence towards her. The Guise is in as great favour with him as ever he was; the house is now the greatest of all France, being allied to Ferrara, Savoy, Lorrain, Scotland, and favoured of all the papists; the French King having his kins-

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woman to wife, and divers great personages in that realm of his house.

The chiefest at this present in credit in court, whose counsel he useth, are Villeroy, Villaquier, Bellievre, the chancellor and lord keeper, Birague and Chiverny.

He greatly entertaineth no amity with any prince, other than for form; neither is his friendship otherwise respected of others, save in respect of the reputation of so great a kingdom.

The pope beareth a great sway, and the king of Spain by means of his pensions; and of the queen-mother with the Guise; she for her two daughters, he for other regard, can do what he list there, or hinder what he would not have done.

The division in his country for matters of religion and state, through miscontentment of the nobility to see strangers advanced to the greatest charges of the realm, the offices of justice sold, the treasury wasted, the people polled, the country destroyed, hath bred great trouble, and like to see more. The faction between the house of Guise against that of Montmorancy, hath gotten great advantage.

At this present the king is about to restore Don Antonio, King of Portugal, whereto are great levies and preparation.

Francis Duke of Anjou and of Brabant, for his calling and quality greatly to be considered as any prince this day living, being second person to the king, his brother, and in likelihood to succeed him.

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There is noted in the disposition of this prince a quiet mildness, giving satisfaction to all men; facility of access and natural courtesy; understanding and speech great and eloquent; secrecy more than commonly is in the French; from his youth always desirous of action, the which thing hath made him always followed and respected. And though hitherto he hath brought to pass no great purpose, having suffered great wants, and resistance both at home and abroad, yet by the intermeddling is grown to good experience, readiness and judgement, the better thereby able to guide and govern his affairs, both in practice, in treaty, and action. Moreover, the diseased estate of the world doth so concur with this his active forwardness, as it giveth him matter to work upon: and he is the only man to be seen of all them in distress, or disirous of alteration. A matter of special furtherance to all such as have achieved great things, when they have found matter disposed to receive form.

And there is to be found no other prince in this part of the world so towards and forward as the duke, towards whom they in distress may turn their eyes. We do plainly see in the most countries of Christendom so unsound and shaken an estate, as desireth the help of some great person, to set together and join again the pieces asunder and out of joint. Wherefore the presumption is great, that if this prince continue this his course, he is likely to become a mighty potentate: for, one enterprise failing, other will be offered, and still men evil at ease, and

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desirous of a head and captain, will run to him that is fittest to receive them. Besides, the French, desirous to shake off the civil wars, must needs attempt somewhat abroad. This duke first had intelligence with the Count Ludovic in King Charles's days, and an enterprise to escape from the court, and in this king's time joined with them of the religion and malcontents; after was carried against them; seeketh the marriage with her majesty, so mighty a princess, as it were to marry might with his activity.

He hath had practice in Germany to be created King of Romans, made a sudden voyage with great expedition into the Low Countries, now is there again with better success than so soon was looked for.

The King of Spain, Philip, son to Charles the Fifth, about sixty years of age, a prince of great understanding, subtle and aspiring, diligent and cruel. This king especially hath made his benefit of the time where his last attempt on Portugal deserveth exact consideration, thereby as by the woskmanship to know the master.

The first success he had was at St. Quintin, where he got a notable hand of the French; he sought to reduce the Low Countries to an absolute subjection.

He hath kept France in continual broil, where by his pensions and the favour of the house of Guise, by means of the queen-mother in contemplation of her nieces, he beareth great sway. With the pope he is so linked, as he may do what him list, and dis-

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pose of that authority to serve his purposes: as he has gotten great authority in pretending to protect the church and religion.

He possesseth the one half of Italy, comprehending Sicily and Sardinia, with Naples and Milan; the which estates do yield him little other profit, save the maintenance of so many Spaniards as he keepeth there always.

The Duke of Florence relieth greatly upon him, as well in respect of the state of Siena, as of the ports he holdeth, and of his greatness. Lucca is under his protection. Genoa, the one faction at his devotion, with their galleys: at his pension is most of the greatest there.

Besides the Low Countries, he holdeth the French Comte, the best used of all his subjects, and Luxembourg: the West Indies furnish him gold and silver, the which he consumeth in the wars of the Low Countries, and in pensions, and is greatly indebted, while he worketh on the foundation his father laid, to erect a monarchy, the which, if he succeed in the conquest of Portugal, he is likely to achieve, unless death do cut him off.

He hath one son of the years of five by his last wife, two daughters by the French king's sister, two base sons.

He hath greatly sought the marriage of the Queen's daughter of France, sister to his last wife, and cousin german removed.

His revenues are reckoned to amount to sixteen millions.

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The chief in credit with him of martial men and for counsel are . . . .

He maketh account to have in continual pay fifty thousand soldiers.

He maintaineth galleys to the number of one hundred and forty, whereof there are sixty in Portugal, the rest are at Naples and other places. Now is on league with the Turk.

D. Antonio, elect King of Portugal, thrust out by the King of Spain, of forty-five years of age, a mild spirit, sober and discreet: he is now in France, where he hath levied soldiers, whereof part are embarked, hoping by the favour of that king, and the good will the Portugals do bear him, to be restored again. He holdeth the Torges, and the East Indians yet remain well affected to him, a case of itself deserving the considering and relief of all other princes. Besides in his person, his election to be noted with the title he claimeth very singular, and seldom the like seen, being chosen of all the people; the great dangers he hath escaped likewise at sundry times.

The King of Poland, Stephen Batoaye, a Baron of Hungary, by the favour of the Turk chosen King of the Pollacks, after the escape made by the French king; a prince of the greatest value and courage of any at this day, of competent years, sufficient wisdom, the which he hath shewed in the siege of Danske, and the wars with the Muscovite.

The Hungarians could be content to exchange the emperor for him. The Bohemians likewise wish him in the stead of the other. He were like to attain

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to the empire, were there not that mortal enmity between those two nations as could not agree in one subjection.

Straight upon his election he married the Infant of Poland, somewhat in years and crooked, only to content the Pollacks, but never companied with her. He doth tolerate there all religions, himself heareth the mass, but is not thought to be a papist: he had a great part of his education in Turkey, after served the last emperor.

Frederick the Second, of forty-eight years, King of Denmark and Norway; his wife Sophia, daughter to Ulricke, Duke of Mechelebourg, by whom he hath six children, four daughters and two sons, Christianus and Ulricus, the eldest of five years of age.

The chiefest about him, Nicolas Cose his chancellor, in whose counsel he doth much repose.

He hath always eight hundred horse about his court, to whom he giveth ten dollars the month.

His father deceased in the year 1559, after which he had wars ten years space with the Swede, which gave him occasion to arm by sea. His navy is six great ships of one thousand five hundred ton, and fifteen smaller, ten gallies which sail to pass the Straits.

His revenues grow chiefly in customs, and such living as were in the hands of the abbeys, and bishops, whereby he is greatly enriched: his chief haven is Copenhagen, where always his navy lieth.

His brother John, Duke of Holst in Jutland,

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married to the daughter of the Duke of Inferior Saxony.

Magnus, his other brother, Bishop of Courland, married the daughter of the Muscovite's brother.

The chiefest wars that the King of Denmark hath is with Sweden, with whom now he hath peace. The Duke of Holst is uncle to the king now reigning; they make often alliances with Scotland.

John, King of Sweden, son of Gustavus.

This Gustavus had four sons, Erick, John, Magnus, Charles.

Erick married a soldier's daughter, by whom he had divers children, and died in prison.

John, now king, married the sister of Sigismond, late King of Poland.

Magnus bestraught of his wits.

Charles married a daughter of the Palsgrave.

Five daughters of Gustavus.

Katherine married to the Earl of East-Friseland.

Anne to one of the Palsgraves.

Cicilia to the Marquis of Baden.

Sophia to the Duke of Inferior Saxony.

Elizabeth to the Duke of Mecleburg.

This prince is of no great force nor wealth, but of late both increased his navigation by reason of the wars between him and the Dane, the which, the wars ceasing, they hardly maintain.

The Muscovite Emperor of Russia, John Basil, of threescore years of age, in league and amity with no prince; always at wars with the Tartarians, and now with the Pollake.

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He is advised by no council, but governeth altogether like a tyrant. He hath one son of thirty years of age. Not long sithence this prince deposed himself, and set in his place a Tartar, whom he removed again. Of late sent an ambassador to Rome, giving some hope to submit himself to that see. Their religion is nearest the Greek church, full of superstition and idolatry.

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IN

HAPPY MEMORY

OF

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF ENGLAND;

OR,

A COLLECTION

OF THE

FELICITIES OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

WRITTEN BY HIS LORDSHIP IN LATIN, AND ENGLISHED BY DR. RAWLEY.

QUEEN ELIZABETH, both in her natural endowments, and her fortune, was admirable amongst women, and memorable amongst princes. But this is no subject for the pen of a mere scholar, or any such cloistered writer. For these men are eager in their expressions, but shallow in their judgements; and perform the scholar's part well, but transmit things but unfaithfully to posterity. Certainly it is a science belonging to statesmen, and to such as sit at the helms of great kingdoms, and have been acquainted with the weight and secrets of civil business, to handle this matter dexterously. Rare in all ages hath been the reign of a woman, more rare the felicity of a woman in her reign, but most rare a permanency and lasting joined with that felicity.

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As for this lady she reigned four and forty years complete, and yet she did not survive her felicity. Of this felicity I am purposed to say somewhat; yet without any excursion into praises; for praises are the tribute of men, but felicity the gift of God.

First, I reckon it as a part of her felicity, that she was advanced to the regal throne from a private fortune. For this is ingenerate in the nature and opinions of men, to ascribe that to the greatest felicity, which is not counted upon, and cometh unlooked for, but this is not that I intend, it is this, princes that are trained up in their father's courts, and to an immediate and apparent hope of succession do get this by the tenderness and remissness of their education, that they become, commonly, less capable and less temperate in their affections. And therefore you shall find those to have been the ablest and most accomplished kings that were tutored by both fortunes. Such was with us, King Henry the Seventh; and with the French, Lewis the Twelfth: both which in recent memory, and almost about the same time obtained their crowns, not only from a private, but also from an adverse and afflicted fortune; and did both excel in their several ways; the former in prudence, and the other in justice. Much like was the condition of this princess, whose blossoms and hopes were unequally aspected by fortune, that afterwards when she came to crown, fortune might prove towards her always mild and constant. For Queen Elizabeth, soon after she was born, was entitled to the succession in the crown, upon the next turn

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disinherited again, then laid aside and slighted: during the reign of her brother, her estate was most prosperous and flourishing; during the reign of her sister, very tempestuous and full of hazard. Neither yet did she pass immediately from the prison to the crown, which sudden change might have been enough to make her cast off all moderation: but first she regained her liberty, then there budded forth some probable hopes of succession; and lastly, in a great still and happiness she was advanced to the imperial crown without either noise or competitor. All which I allege that it may appear that the divine Providence, intending to produce a most exquisite princess, was pleased to prepare and mould her by these degrees of discipline. Neither ought the misfortune of her mother justly to stain the pure stream of her blood; especially seeing it is very evident that King Henry the Eighth did first burn with new loves, before he was inflamed with indignation against Queen Anne: neither is it unknown to the ages since, that he was a king naturally prone to loves and jealousies; and not containing himself in those cases from the effusion of blood. Besides, the very person for whom she was suspected sheweth the accusation to be less probable, and built upon weak and frivolous suppositions; which was both secretly whispered in many men's ears at that time; and which Queen Anne herself testified by her undaunted courage, and that memorable speech of her's at the time of her death. For having gotten, as she supposed, a faithful and friendly messenger,

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in the very hour before her death, she delivered him these words to relate unto the king: "That she "had ever found the king very constant and firm to "his purpose of advancing her; for first, from the "estate of a gentlewoman only, and no way pretend-"ing to noble titles, he raised her to the honour of "a marchioness; next, he vouchsafed to make her "his consort both of his kingdom and bed: and "now that there remained no higher earthly honour, "he meant to crown her innocency with the glory "of martyrdom." But though the messenger durst not relate these words to the king, who was already inflamed with new loves, yet certain tradition, the conserver of truth, hath conveyed them to posterity.

Another principal thing, which I cast into Queen Elizabeth's felicity, was the time and period of her reign; not only for that it was long, but also because it fell into that season of her life, which was most active and fittest for the swaying of a sceptre, for she was fully five and twenty years old (at which age the civil law freeth from a curator) when she came to the crown, and reigned to the seventieth year of her life; so that she never suffered either the detriments of pupilage, and check of an over-awing power, or the inconveniences of an impotent and unwieldy old age; and old age is not without a competent portion of miseries, even to private men; but to kings, besides the common burthen of years, it brings for the most part a declining in the estates they govern, and a conclusion of their lives without honour. For there hath scarce been known a king

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that hath lived to an extreme and impotent old age, but he hath suffered some detriment in his territories, and gone less in his reputation. Of which thing there is a most eminent example in Philip the Second, King of Spain, a most puissant prince, and an excellent governor, who in the last years of his life, and impotent old age, was sensible of this whereof we speak; and therefore with great circumspection submitted himself to nature's law, voluntarily surrendered the territories he had gotten in France, established a firm peace in that kingdom, attempted the like in other places, that so he might transmit his kingdoms peaceable and entire to his next heir. Contrariwise, Queen Elizabeth's fortune was so constant and deeply rooted, that no disaster in any of her dominions accompanied her indeed declining, but still able years: nay further, for an undeniable token of her felicity, she died not before the rebellion in Ireland was fortunately decided, and quashed by a battle there, lest otherwise it might have defalcated from the total sum of her glory. Now the condition also of the people over whom she reigned, I take to be a matter worthy our observation; for if her lot had fallen amongst the desolate Palmyrenes, or in Asia, a soft and effeminate race of men, a woman-prince might have been sufficient for a womanish people; but for the English, a nation stout and warlike, to be ruled by the check of a woman, and to yield so humble obedience to her, is a thing deserving the highest admiration.

Neither was this disposition of her people (hungry

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of war, and unwillingly bowing to peace) any impediment to her, but that she enjoyed and maintained peace all her days: and this desire in her of peace, together with her fortunate accomplishment thereof, I reckon to be one of her chiefest praises. For this was happy for her times, comely for her sex, and comfortable to her conscience. Indeed, about the tenth year of her reign, there was an offer of a commotion in the northern parts, but it was soon laid asleep and extinguished; but all her reign beside was free from the least breath or air of civil broils. Now I judge the peace maintained by her to be the more eminent for two causes, which indeed make nothing for the merit of that peace, but much for the honour: the one, that it was set off, and made more conspicuous by the broils and dissentions of neighbouring nations, as it were by so many lights and torches: the other, that amidst the benefits of peace she lost not the honour of arms; insomuch, that the reputation of the English arms was not only preserved, but also advanced by her upon many glorious occasions. For the succours sent into the Netherlands, France, and Scotland, the expeditions by sea into both the Indies, whereof some circled the whole globe of the earth; the fleets sent into Portugal, and to annoy the coasts of Spain: and lastly, the often suppressions and overthrows of the rebels in Ireland, did both shew the warlike prowess of our nation to be no whit diminished, and did much increase the renown of the queen.

There was another thing that did greatly ad-

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vance her glory; that both by her timely succours, her neighbour kings were settled in their rightful thrones, and the suppliant people, who by the ill advisedness of their kings were abandoned and given over to the cruelty of their ministers, and to the fury of the multitude, and to all manner of butchery and desolation, were relieved by her; by reason whereof they subsist unto this day. Neither was she a princess less benign and fortunate in the influence of her counsels, than of her succours; as being one that had oftentimes interceded to the King of Spain, to mitigate his wrath against his subjects in the Netherlands, and to reduce them to his obedience upon some tolerable conditions; and further, as being one that did perpetually and upon all occasions, represent to the French kings the observation of their own edicts, so often declaring and promising peace to their subjects. I cannot deny but that these good counsels of hers wanted the effect: in the former I verily believe for the universal good of Europe, lest happily the ambition of Spain, being unloosed from its fetters, should have poured itself (as things then stood) upon the other kingdoms and states of Christendom: and for the latter the blood of so many innocents with their wives and children slain within their own harbours and nests by the scum of the people, (who like so many mastiffs were let loose, and heartened, and even set upon them by the state,) would not suffer it; which did continually cry unto God for vengeance, that so blood-sucking a kingdom might have her fill thereof, in the intestine slaugh-

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ters and consumption of a civil war. Howsoever she persisted to perform the part of a wise and loving confederate.

There is another cause also for which we may justly admire this peace so constantly pursued and maintained by the queen. And that is, that it did not proceed from any bent or inclination of those times; but from the prudency of her government and discreet carriage of things. For whereas she herself was not without manifest danger from an ill affected party at home for the cause of religion, and that the strength and forces of this kingdom were in the place of a bulwark to all Europe against the then dreadful and overflowing ambition and power of the King of Spain, she might have apprehended just cause of a war; but as she was still ready with her counsel, so she was not behind hand with her forces. And this we are taught by an event the most memorable of any in our time, if we look upon the felicity thereof. For when as the Spanish navy (set forth with such wonderful preparations in all kinds, the terror and amazement of all Europe, carried on with almost assurance of victory) came braving upon our seas; it took not so much as one poor cock-boat of ours, nor fired any one village, nor landed one man upon English ground; but was utterly defeated, and after a shameful flight and many shipwrecks quite dispersed, so as the peace of this kingdom was never more firm and solid. Neither was her felicity less in escaping treacherous attempts at home, than in subduing and defeating

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foreign invasions. For not a few treasons plotted against her life, were most fortunately discovered and disappointed. And this was no cause to make her lead a more fearful or diffident life than before. No new increase of her guard, no immuring herself within her own walls, or forbearing to be seen abroad; but as one assured and confident, and that was more mindful of her escape from danger, than of the danger itself, she was constant to her former customs and fashions.

Furthermore, it is worth our labour to consider the nature of the times in which she reigned. For there are some times so barbarous and ignorant that it is no greater matter to govern people, than to govern a flock of sheep. But this queen, fell upon times of singular learning and sufficiency; in which it was not possible to be eminent, without admirable endowments of wit, and a rare temper of virtue. Again, the reigns of women are for the most part obscured by their husbands; upon whom all their praises and worthy acts do reflect: as for those that continue unmarried, it is they that impropriate the whole glory, and merit to themselves. And this was the peculiar glory of this princess, that she had no props or supports of her government, but those that were of her own making. She had no brother, the son of her mother; no uncle, none other of the royal blood and lineage that might be partner in her cares, and an upholder of the regal dignity. And as for those, whom she raised to honour, she carried such a discreet hand over them, and so interchanged her

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favours as they still strived in emulation and desire to please her best, and she herself remained in all things an absolute princess. Childless she was, and left no issue behind her; which was the case of many of the most fortunate princes, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Trajan and others. And this is a case that hath been often controverted and argued on both sides, whilst some hold the want of children to be a diminution of our happiness, as if it should be an estate more than human to be happy both in our own persons, and in our descendants, but others do account the want of children as an addition to earthly happiness, inasmuch as that happiness may be said to be complete, over which fortune hath no power, when we are gone: which if we leave children cannot be.

She had also many outward gifts of nature. A tall stature; a comely and straight making; an extraordinary majesty of aspect, joined with a sweetness; a most happy and constant healthfulness of body. Unto which I may add, that in the full possession both of her limbs and spirits until her last sickness, having received no blow from fortune, nor decay from old age; she obtained that which Augustus Cæsar so importunately prayed for; an easy and undistempered passage out of this world. Which also is reported of Antoninus Pius, that excellent emperor; whose death had the resemblance of some soft and pleasing slumber. So in Queen Elizabeth's disease, there was no ghastly or fearful accident; no idleness of brain; nothing unac-

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customed to man in general: she was not transported either with desire of life, or tediousness of sickness, or extremity of pain; she had no grievous or uncomely symptoms, but all things were of that kind, as did rather shew the frailty of nature, than a deordination or reproach of it. For some few days before her death, being much pined with the extreme drought of her body, and those cares that accompany a crown, and not wonted to refresh herself with wine, or any liberal diet, she was struck with a torpor and frigidity in her nerves; notwithstanding, which is rare in such diseases, she retained both her speech, and memory and motion, though but slow and weak, even to the end. And in this case she continued but a few days; so as it cannot be called the last act of her life, but the first step to her death. For as it is a miserable condition to see the faculties of our body buried before us; and to survive long after them; so it is a fair and natural conclusion of our life, when the senses are by little and little laid asleep that the dissolution of the whole should immediately follow.

I will add one thing more to make up the full measure of her felicity: which is, that she was not only most happy in her own person, but in the abilities and virtues of her servants, and ministers, for she was served by such persons as I suppose this island never brought forth the like before her times. Now when God beareth a love to kings, no doubt he raiseth up the spirits of wise servants as a concurrent blessing.

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There are two fair issues of her happiness, born to her since her death, I conceive not less glorious and eminent than those she enjoyed alive. The one of her successor, the other of her memory. For she hath gotten such a successor, who although for his masculine virtues, and blessing of posterity, and addition of territories, he may be said to exceed her greatness and somewhat to obscure it; notwithstanding, he is most zealous of her name and glory; and doth even give a perpetuity to her acts, considering both in the choice of the persons, and in the orders, and institutions of the kingdom, he hath departed so little from her so as a son could hardly succeed a father, with less noise of innovation. As for her memory, it hath gotten such life in the mouths and hearts of men, as that envy being put out by her death, and her fame lighted, I cannot say whether the felicity of her life, or the felicity of her memory be the greater. For if, perhaps, there fly abroad any factious fames of her, raised either by discontented persons, or such as are averse in religion; which notwithstanding dare now scarce shew their faces, and are every where cried down; the same are neither true, neither can they be long lived. And for this cause especially, have I made this collection, such as it is, touching her felicity, and the marks of God's favour towards her; that no malicious person should dare to interpose a curse, where God hath given a blessing. Now if any man shall allege that against me, was once said to Cæsar; "we see what we may admire, but we would

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fain see what we can commend;" certainly, for my part, I hold true admiration to be the highest degree of commendation. And besides such felicities as we have recounted could not befal any princess, but such an one as was extraordinarily supported, and cherished by God's favour; and had much in her own person, and rare virtues, to create and work out unto herself such a fortune. Notwithstanding, I have thought good to insert something now concerning her moral part, yet only in those things, which have ministered occasion, to some malicious to traduce her.

This queen, as touching her religion, was pious, moderate, constant, and an enemy to novelty. First for her piety, though the same were most conspicuous in her acts and the form of her government; yet it was pourtrayed also in the common course of her life, and her daily comportment. Seldom would she be absent from hearing divine service, and other duties of religion, either in her chapel, or in her privy closet. In the reading of the scriptures, and the writings of the fathers, especially of Saint Augustine, she was very frequent; she composed certain prayers herself upon emergent occasions. Whensoever she named God, though it were in common discourse, she would for the most part add the title of Maker, saying, God my Maker: and compose both her eyes and countenance to a submissness and reverence. This I have often, myself, observed, being in her presence; now whereas some have divulged her unmindfulness of mortality, in

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that she would never endure any mention either of her age, or death, is most false: for she would often, and that many years before her death, with a great deal of meekness profess that she found herself grown an old woman, and she would sometimes open herself what she liked best for an inscription upon her tomb, saying, that she loved no pompous or vain-glorious titles but would only have a line or two for her memory, wherein her name and her virginity, and the years of her reign, and her establishing of religion, and her maintaining of peace, should be in the fewest words comprehended. It is true, that whilst she was in her vigorous years, and able to bear children, if at any time she were moved to declare her successor, she would make answer, that she would never endure to see her winding-sheet before her eyes. And yet notwithstanding some few years before her death, one day when she was in a deep meditation, and, as it may be guessed, in that of her mortality, one that might be bold said unto her, "madam, there are divers offices, and great places in "the state, which you keep too long void." She arose up in some displeasure, and said, "I am sure my office will not be long void."

As for her moderateness in religion I shall seem to be at a stand, in regard of the severe laws made against her subjects of the Romish religion: notwithstanding, that which I shall say is no more than what I know for certain, and diligently observed. Most certain it is, that it was the firm resolution of this princess not to offer any violence to consciences;

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but then on the other side, not to suffer the state of her kingdom to be ruined under pretence of conscience and religion. Out of this fountain she concluded; first, that to allow freedom and toleration of two religions by public authority, in a nation fierce and warlike, and that would easily fall from dissention of minds to siding and blows, would bring inevitable ruin to this kingdom. Again, in the newness of her reign, when there was a general distrust, she singled out some of the bishops of the most turbulent and factious spirits, and committed them to free custody; and this not without the warrant of former laws. As for the rest, either of the clergy or laity, she did not ransack their consciences by any severe inquisition, but rather secured them by a gracious connivancy: and this was the state of things at the first. Neither did she depart from this clemency, when the excommunication of Pius Quintus came thundering against her, which might both justly have provoked her, and have ministered occasion to new courses; but howsoever she followed her royal nature still: for as a wise lady, and of a high courage, she was not a whit terrified at the roaring of a bull, being well assured of her people's love and fidelity towards her, as also of the disability of the popish faction within the kingdom to do her hurt if no foreign enemy joined with them. But then, about the three and twentieth year of her reign there followed a mighty change. And this distinction of the times is not any device of mine, but it is expressed in the public acts of that time, and as

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it were cut in brass; for before that year was there never any capital or severe punishment inflicted upon any of her subjects, as they had relation to the Romish religion, by the laws formerly made. But just then began that proud and vast intention of Spain to conquer this kingdom, by little and little to shew itself. Of this the principal prat was to stir up by all means a party within the kingdom of such as were ill-affected to the state, and desirous of innovation, that might adhere to the foreigner at his landing. For this they had no other hopes than the difference in religion; wherefore they set it down to pursue this course with all their power: and the seminaries at that time budding, priests were sent into England to plant and disperse a love to the Romish religion; to teach and inculcate the power of the pope's excommunication in freeing subjects from their allegiance, and to awaken and prepare the minds of men to an expectation of a change. About the same time Ireland also was attempted by an invasion, and the queen's name and government traduced by sundry and scandalous libels. To be short, there was an unusual swelling in the state, the forerunner of greater troubles: yet I will not affirm, that every priest which was sent over was made of the council, or privy to the enterprize, but that some of them became the wicked instruments only of other men's malice. Notwithstanding this is true, and witnessed by the confessions of many, that almost all the priests which were sent into this kingdom from that aforenamed year, unto the thirtieth year of Queen Eliza-

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beth's reign, at which time that design of the pope and Spain was put into execution, by those memorable preparations of the navy and land forces, had in their instructions, besides other parts of their function, to distil and insinuate into the people these particulars: "It was impossible things should con- "tinue at this stay: they should see ere long a great "change in this state; that the pope and Catholic "princes were careful for the English, if they would "not be wanting to themselves." Again, sundry of the priests did manifestly interpose themselves into those consultations and plots which tended to the undermining and ruining of this kingdom: and, which especially moved her, letters were intercepted out of divers parts that discovered the true face of the plot; in which was written, that they doubted not to go beyond the vigilancy of the queen and state in the matter of Catholics; for the queen would only have an eye lest there should arise any fit head, in the person of some lord, or other eminent gentleman of quality, under whom the Catholics might unite; but they had thought upon another course, as namely, by private men, and those but of mean rank, that should not confer, nor scarce know of each other's employments, to prepare and mature the business by the secresy of confession, And these were their engines, the which, as hath appeared since in a case not much unlike, are usual and familiar to that order of men. In this great deluge of danger, there was a necessity imposed upon Queen Elizabeth to restrain, by some sharper bands of laws, that part of her subjects which

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were alienated from her, and had drunk too deep a draught of this poison ever to recover; and further, which by their retired living, and exemption from public offices, were grown very rich: and moreover, the mischief daily growing, when as the cause thereof was ascribed to none other than the seminary priests, who had been nourished in foreign parts, and received exhibition from the bounty and alms of foreign princes, professed enemies to this state; and who had conversed in such places where the name of Queen Elizabeth was never heard, but as of an heretic, and excommunicate, and accursed person; and who, though themselves, sometimes, had no hand in treason, yet they were known to be the intimate friends of them that had. And lastly, who by their arts and poisons had infected and soured the mass and lump of the Catholics, which before was more sweet and harmless, with a new kind of leaven, and desperate maliciousness: there could no other remedy be devised, but by forbidding such persons to enter into this kingdom upon pain of their lives; which at last, in the twenty-seventh year of her reign, was accordingly done. Nay, and when the event itself had confirmed this to be true, I mean immediately after that the dreadful tempest arose from Spain, threatening no less than utter desolation, yet did it nothing mollify or turn the edge of these men's malice and fury, but rather whetted it, as if they had cast off all natural affection to their country. As for the times succeeding, I mean after the thirtieth year of her reign, though indeed our

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fear of Spain, which had been the spur to this rigour, had fairly breathed out, or was well abated; yet considering the memory of times past had made so deep impression in men's hearts and cogitations, and that it would have seemed either inconstancy to repeal those former laws, or sloth to neglect them, the very constitution of things did suggest to the queen, that it was not safe to reduce them unto that state wherein they had continued until the three and twentieth year of her reign. Hereunto may be added the industry of some persons in improving the revenues of the Exchequer, and the zeal of some other ministers of justice, which did never think their country safe, unless the laws were rigorously executed; all which did importune and press the execution of the laws. Notwithstanding, the queen, for a manifest token of her royal nature, did so dull the edge of the laws, that but a very few priests, in respect of their number, did suffer death. Now all this which I have said is not by way of defence, for the matter needs it not; for neither could this kingdom have been safe without it, neither were the proceedings any way comparable or of kin to those bloody and unchristianly massacres in the Catholic countries, which proceeded merely from rancour and pride, and not from any necessity of state: howsoever, I hope I have made my first assertion good, that she was moderate in the point of religion, and that the change which happened was not in her nature, but upon the necessity of the times.

Now for the constancy of Queen Elizabeth in

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religion, and the observance thereof, I know no better argument than this, That although she found the Romish religion confirmed in her sister's days by act of parliament, and established by all strong and potent means that could be devised, and to have taken deep root in this kingdom; and that all those which had any authority, or bear any office in the state, had subscribed to it; yet for that she saw it was not agreeable to the word of God, nor to the primitive purity, nor to her own conscience, she did, with a great deal of courage, and with the assistance of a very few persons, quite expel and abolish it. Neither did she this by precipitate and heady courses, but timing it wisely and soberly. And this may well be conjectured, as from the thing itself, so also by an answer of her's which she made upon occasion. For within a very few days of her coming to the crown, when many prisoners were released out of prison, as the custom is at the inauguration of a prince, there came to her one day, as she was going to chapel, a certain courtier that had the liberty of a buffoon, and either out of his own motion, or by the instigation of a wiser man, presented her with a petition: and before a great number of courtiers, said to her with a loud voice, "That "there were yet four or five prisoners unjustly "detained in prison; he came to be a suitor to have "them set at liberty; those were the four Evan- "gelists, and the Apostle Saint Paul, who had been "long shut up in an unknown tongue, as it were in "prison, so as they could not converse with the

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"common people." The queen answered very gravely, "That it was best first to inquire of them, "whether they would be set at liberty or no." Thus she silenced an unseasonable motion with a doubtful answer, as reserving the matter wholly in her own power. Neither did she bring in this alteration timorously, or by pieces, but in a grave and mature manner, after a conference betwixt both sides, and the calling and conclusion of a parliament. And thus within the compass of one year she did so establish and settle all matters belonging to the church, as she departed not one hair's breadth from them to the end of her life: nay, and her usual custom was, in the beginning of every parliament, to forewarn the houses not to question or innovate any thing already established in the discipline or rites of the church. And thus much of her religion.

Now if there be any severer nature that shall tax her for that she suffered herself, and was very willing to be courted, wooed, and to have sonnets made in her commendation; and that she continued this longer than was decent for her years: notwithstanding, if you will take this matter at the best it is not without singular admiration, being much like unto that which we find in fabulous narrations, of a certain queen in the Fortunate Islands, and of her court and fashions, where fair-purpose and love-making was allowed, but lasciviousness banished. But if you will take it at the worst, even so it amounteth to a more high admiration, considering that these courtships did not much eclipse her fame, and not at all

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her majesty; neither did they make her less apt for government, or chock with the affairs and businesses of the public, for such passages as these do often entertain the time even with the greatest princes. But to make an end of this discourse, certainly this princess was good and moral, and such she would be acknowledged; she detested vice, and desired to purchase fame only by honourable courses. And indeed whilst I mention her moral parts, there comes a certain passage into my mind which I will insert. Once giving order to write to her ambassador about certain instructions to be delivered apart to the queen-mother of the house of Valois, and that her secretary had inserted a certain clause that the ambassador should say, as it were to endear her to the queen-mother, "That they two were the only "pair of female princes, from whom, for experience "and arts of government, there was no less expected "than from the greatest kings." She utterly disliked the comparison, and commanded it to be put out, saying, "That she practised other principles "and arts of government than the queen-mother "did." Besides, she was not a little pleased, if any one should fortune to tell her, that suppose she had lived in a private fortune, yet she could not have escaped without some note of excellency and singularity in her sex. So little did she desire to borrow or be beholding to her fortune for her praise. But if I should wade further into this queen's praises, moral or politic, either I must slide into certain common places, and heads of virtue, which were not

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worthy of so great a princess: or if I should desire to give her virtues the true grace and lustre, I must fall into a history of her life, which requireth both better leisure and a better pen than mine is. Thus much in brief according to my ability: but to say the truth, the only commender of this lady's virtues is time; which for as many ages as it hath run, hath not yet shewed us one of the female sex equal to her in the administration of a kingdom.

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A

CIVIL CHARACTER

OF

JULIUS CÆSAR.

WRITTEN BY HIS LORDSHIP IN LATIN, AND ENGLISHED BY DR. RAWLEY.

JULIUS CÆSAR was partaker at first of an exercised fortune; which turned to his benefit: for it abated the haughtiness of his spirit, and whetted his industry. He had a mind, turbulent in his desires and affections; but in his judgment and understanding very serene and placid: and this appears by his easy deliverances of himself, both in his transactions and in his speech. For no man ever resolved more swiftly, or spake more perspicuously and plainly. There was nothing forced or difficult in his expressions. But in his will and appetite, he was of that condition, that he never rested in those things he had gotten; but still thirsted and pursued after new; yet so, that he would not rush into new affairs rashly, but settle and make an end of the former, before he attempted fresh actions. So that he would put a seasonable period to all his undertakings. And therefore, though he won many battles in Spain, and weakened their forces by degrees; yet he would not give over, nor despise the relics of the civil war there, till he had seen all things composed: but then

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as soon as that was done, and the state settled, instantly he advanced in his expedition against the Parthians.

He was, no doubt, of a very noble mind; but yet such as aimed more at his particular advancement, than at any merits for the common good. For he referred all things to himself; and was the true and perfect centre of all his actions. By which means, being so fast tied to his ends, he was still prosperous, and prevailed in his purposes; insomuch, that neither country, nor religion, nor good turns done him, nor kindred, nor friendship diverted his appetite, nor bridled him from pursuing his own ends. Neither was he much inclined to works of perpetuity; for he established nothing for the future; he founded no sumptuous buildings; he procured to be enacted no wholesome laws, but still minded himself: and so his thoughts were confined within the circle of his own life. He sought indeed after fame and reputation, because he thought they might be profitable to his designs: otherwise, in his inward thoughts, he propounded to himself rather absoluteness of power, than honour and fame. For as for honour and fame, he pursued not after them for themselves; but because they were the instruments of power and greatness. And therefore he was carried on through a natural inclination, not by any rules that he had learned to affect the sole regiment; and rather to enjoy the same, than to seem worthy of it. And by this means he won much

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reputation amongst the people, who are no valuers of true worth: but amongst the nobility and great men, who were tender of their own honours, it procured him no more than this, that he incurred the brand of an ambitious and daring man.

Neither did they much err from the truth who thought him so; for he was by nature exceeding bold; and never did put on any shew of modesty, except it were for some purposes. Yet notwithstanding, he so attempered his boldness, that it neither impeached him of rashness, nor was burthensome to men; nor rendered his nature suspected, but was conceived to flow out of an innate sincerity and freeness of behaviour; and the nobility of his birth: and in all other things he passed, not for a crafty and deceitful person; but for an open-hearted and plain-dealing man, And whereas he was indeed an arch-politician, that could counterfeit and dissemble sufficiently well; and was wholly compounded of frauds and deceits; so that there was nothing sincere in him, but all artificial; yet he covered, and disguised himself so, that no such vices appeared to the eyes of the world; but he was generally reputed to proceed plainly and uprightly with all men. Howbeit, he did not stoop to any petty and mean artifices, as they do, which are ignorant in state-employments; and depend not so much upon the strength of their own wits, as upon the counsels and brains of others, to support their authority; for he was skilled in the turnings of all

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human affairs; and transacted all matters, especially those of high consequence by himself, and not by others.

He was singularly skilful to avoid envy; and found it not impertinent to his ends, to decline that, though it were with some diminution of his dignity. For aiming at a real power, he was content to pass by all vain pomp and outward shews of power throughout his whole life; till at the last, whether high-flown with the continual exercise of power, or corrupted with flatteries, he affected the ensigns of power (the style and diadem of a king) which was the bait that wrought his overthrow.

This is true, that he harboured the thoughts of a kingdom from his very youth: and hereunto the example of Sylla, and the kindred of Marius, and his emulation of Pompey, and the corruption and ambition of the times, did prick him forward: but then he paved his way to a kingdom, after a wonderful and strange manner. As first, by a popular and seditious power; afterwards by a military power, and that of a general in war. For there was required to effect his ends; first, that he should break the power and authority of the senate; which, as long as it stood firm, was adverse, and an hinderance, that no man could climb to sovereignty and imperial command. Then the power of Crassus and Pompey, was to be subdued and quelled, which could not be done otherwise, than by arms. And therefore, as the most cunning contriver of his own fortune, he laid his first foundation by bribes; by

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corrupting the courts of justice; by renewing the memory of Caius Marius, and his party; for most of the senators and nobility were of Sylla's faction: by the laws of distributing the fields, amongst the common people: by the sedition of the tribunes, where he was the author: by the madness and fury of Cataline, and the conspirators, unto which action he secretly blew the coals! By the banishment of Cicero, which was the greatest blow to the authority of the senate, as might be; and several other the like arts; but most of all by the conjunction of Crassus and Pompey, both betwixt themselves, and with him; which was the thing that finished the work.

Having accomplished this part, he betook himself to the other; which was to make use of, and to enjoy his power. For being made proconsul of France for five years; and afterwards continuing it for five years more; he furnished himself with arms and legions, and the power of a warlike and opulent province; and was formidable to Italy.

Neither was he ignorant, that after he had strengthened himself with arms, and a military power, neither Crassus nor Pompey could ever be able to bear up against him; whereof the one trusted to his great riches; the other to his fame and reputation; the one decayed through age, the other in power and authority: and neither of them were grounded upon true and lasting foundations. And the rather, for that he had obliged all the senators and magistrates: and in a word all those

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that had any power in the commonwealth, so firmly to himself, with private benefits; that he was fearless of any combination or opposition against his designs, till he had openly invaded the imperial power.

Which thing, though he always bare in his mind; and at the last acted it; yet he did not lay down his former person: but coloured things so, that what with the reasonableness of his demands; what with his pretences of peace; and what with the moderate use of his successes, he turned all the envy of the adverse party; and seemed to take up arms upon necessity for his own preservation and safety. But the falseness of this pretence manifestly appeared; inasmuch as soon after having obtained the regal power, all civil wars being appeased; and all his rivals and opposites, which might put him to any fear, being removed out of the way by the stroke of death; notwithstanding he never thought of resigning the republic; no, nor ever made any shew or offer of resigning the same. Which shewed plainly, that his ambition of being a king was settled in him, and remained with him unto his last breath. For he did not lay hold upon occasions, as they happened, but moulded and formed the occasions, as himself pleased.

His chief abilities consisted in martial knowledge; in which he so excelled, that he could not only lead an army, but mould an army to his own liking. For he was not more skilful in managing affairs, than in winning of hearts. Neither did he affect this by any ordinary discipline, as by inuring

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them to fulfil all his commands; or by striking a shame into them to disobey, or by carrying a severe hand over them: but by such a way as did wonderfully stir up an alacrity and cheerfulness in them; and did in a sort assure him of the victory aforehand, and which did oblige the soldier to him, more than was fit for a free estate. Now whereas he was versed in all kinds of martial knowledge, and joined civil arts, with the arts of war; nothing came so suddenly, or so unlooked for upon him, for which he had not a remedy at hand: and nothing was so adverse, but that he could pick something for his turn and benefit out of it.

He stood sufficiently upon his state and greatness. For in great battles he would sit at home in the head-quarter, and manage all things by messages, which wrought him a double benefit. First, that it secured his person more, and exposed him the less to danger. Secondly, that if at any time his army was worsted, he could put new spirit into them with his own presence, and the addition of fresh forces, and turn the fortune of the day. In the conducting of his wars, he would not only follow former precedents, but he was able to devise and pursue new stratagems, according as the accidents and occasions required.

He was constant, and singularly kind, and indulgent in his friendships contracted. Notwithstanding, he made choice of such friends, as a man might easily see, that he chose them rather to be instruments to his ends, than for any good-will towards

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them. And whereas, by nature, and out of a firm resolution, he adhered to this principle; not to be eminent amongst great and deserving men, but to be chief amongst inferiors and vassals; he chose only mean and active men, and such as to whom himself might be all in all. And hereupon grew that saying, "So let Cæsar live, though I die;" and other speeches of that kind. As for the nobility, and those that were his peers, he contracted friendship with such of them as might be useful to him; and admitted none to his cabinet council, but those that had their fortunes wholly depending upon him.

He was moderately furnished with good literature, and the arts; but in such sort as he applied his skill therein to civil policy. For he was well read in history; and was expert in rhetoric, and the art of speaking. And because he attributed much to his good stars, he would pretend more than an ordinary knowledge in astronomy. As for eloquence, and a prompt elocution, that was natural to him and pure.

He was dissolute, and propense to voluptuousness and pleasures; which served well at first for a cover to his ambition. For no man would imagine, that a man so loosely given could harbour any ambitious and vast thoughts in his heart. Notwithstanding, he so governed his pleasures, that they were no hinderance either to his profit or his business; and they did rather whet than dull the vigour of his mind. He was temperate at his meals; free from niceness and curiosity in his lusts; pleasant and magnificent at public interludes.

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Thus being accomplished, the same thing was the means of his downfal at last, which in his beginnings was a step to his rise; I mean, his affection of popularity; for nothing is more popular than to forgive our enemies; through which, either virtue or cunning, he lost his life.

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A

CIVIL CHARACTER

OF

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.

WRITTEN IN LATIN BY HIS LORDSHIP, AND ENGLISHED BY DR. RAWLEY.

Augustus Cæsar, if ever any mortal man, was endued with a greatness of mind, undisturbed with passions, clear and well ordered; which is evidenced by the high achievements which he performed in his early youth. For those persons which are of a turbulent nature or appetite, do commonly pass their youth in many errors; and about their middle, and then and not before, they shew forth their perfections; but those that are of a sedate and calm nature, may be ripe for great and glorious actions in their youth. And whereas the faculties of the mind, no less than the parts and members of the body, do consist and flourish in a good temper of health, and beauty, and strength; so he was in the strength of the mind inferior to his uncle Julius; but in the health and beauty of the mind superior. For Julius being of an unquiet and uncomposed spirit, as those who are troubled with the falling sickness for the most part are. Notwithstanding,

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he carried on his own ends with much moderation and discretion; but he did not order his ends well, proposing to himself vast and high designs above the reach of a mortal man. But Augustus, as a man sober, and mindful of his mortality, seemed to propound no other ends to himself than such as were orderly and well weighed and governed by reason. For first he was desirous indeed to have the rule and principality in his hands; then he sought to appear worthy of that power which he should acquire: next, to enjoy an high place he accounted but a transitory thing: lastly, he endeavoured to do such actions as might continue his memory and leave an impression of his good government to after ages. And therefore, in the beginning of his age, he affected power; in the middle of his age, honour and dignity; in the decline of his years, ease and pleasure; and in the end of his life, he was wholly bent to memory and posterity.

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THE PRAISE OF

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES,

BY FRANCIS BACON.

WRITTEN IN LATIN BY HIS LORDSHIP, AND TRANSLATED BY DR. BIRCH.*

HENRY Prince of Wales, eldest son of the king of Great Britain, happy in the hopes conceived of him, and now happy in his memory, died on the 6th of Nov. 1612, to the extreme concern and regret of the whole kingdom, being a youth, who had neither offended nor satiated the minds of men. He had by the excellence of his disposition excited high expectations among great numbers of all ranks; nor had through the shortness of his life disappointed them. One capital circumstance added to these was the esteem, in which he was commonly held, of being firm to the cause of religion: and men of the best judgment were fully persuaded, that his life was a great support and security to his father from the danger of con-

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* He says, "the following translation is an attempt, for the sake of the English reader, to give the sense of the original, without pretending to reach the force and conciseness of expression peculiar to the great writer as well as to the Roman language.

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spiracies; an evil, against which our age has scarce found a remedy; so that the people's love of religion and the king overflowed to the prince; and this consideration deservedly heightened the sense of the loss of him. His person was strong and erect; his stature of a middle size; his limbs well made; his gait and deportment majestic; his face long and inclining to leanness; his habit of body full; his look grave, and the motion of his eyes rather composed than spirited. In his countenance were some marks of severity, and in his air some appearance of haughtiness. But whoever looked beyond these outward circumstances, and addressed and softened him with a due respect and seasonable discourse, found the prince to be gracious and easy; so that he seemed wholly different in conversation from what he was in appearance, and in fact raised in others an opinion of himself very unlike what his manner would at first have suggested. He was unquestionably ambitious of commendation and glory, and was strongly affected by every appearance of what is good and honourable; which in a young man is to be considered as virtue. Arms and military men were highly valued by him; and he breathed himself something warlike. He was much devoted to the magnificence of buildings and works of all kinds, though in other respects rather frugal; and was a lover both of antiquity and arts. He shewed his esteem of learning in general more by the countenance which he gave to it, than by the time

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which he spent in it. His conduct in respect of morals did him the utmost honour; for he was thought exact in the knowledge and practice of every duty. His obedience to the king his father was wonderfully strict and exemplary: towards the queen he behaved with the highest reverence: to his brother he was indulgent; and had an intire affection for his sister, whom he resembled in person as much as that of a young man could the beauty of a virgin. The instructors of his younger years (which rarely happens) continued high in his favour. In conversation he both expected a proper decorum, and practised it. In the daily business of life, and the allotment of hours for the several offices of it, he was more constant and regular than is usual at his age. His affections and passions were not strong, but rather equal than warm. With regard to that of love, there was a wonderful silence, considering his age, so that he passed that dangerous time of his youth, in the highest fortune, and in a vigorous state of health, without any remarkable imputation of gallantry. In his court no person was observed to have any ascendant over him, or strong interest with him: and even the studies, with which he was most delighted, had rather proper times assigned them, than were indulged to excess, and were rather repeated in their turns, than that any one kind of them had the preference of, and controlled the rest: whether this arose from the moderation of his

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temper, and that in a genius not very forward, but ripening by slow degrees, it did not yet appear what would be the prevailing object of his inclination. He had certainly strong parts, and was endued both with curiosity and capacity; but in speech he was slow, and in some measure hesitating. But whoever diligently observed what fell from him either by way of question or remark, saw it to be full to the purpose, and expressive of no common genius. So that under that slowness and infrequency of discourse, his judgment had more the appearance of suspense and solicitude to determine rightly, than of weakness and want of apprehension. In the mean time he was wonderfully patient in hearing, even in business of the greatest length; and this with unwearied attention, so that his mind seldom wandered from the subject, or seemed fatigued, but he applied himself wholly to what was said or done: which (if his life had been lengthened) promised a very superior degree of prudence. There were indeed in the prince some things obscure, and not to be discovered by the sagacity of any person, but by time only, which was denied him; but what appeared were excellent, which is sufficient for his fame.

He died in the 19th year of his age of an obstinate fever, which during the summer, through the excessive heat and dryness of the season, unusual to islands, had been epidemical, though not fatal, but in autumn became more mortal. Fame

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which, as Tacitus says, is more tragical with respect to the deaths of princes, added a suspicion of poison: but as no signs of this appeared, especially in his stomach, which uses to be chiefly affected by poison, this report soon vanished.

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NOTES.

NOTE A.

Referring to page 114.

This doctrine of vital spirit, to which Lord Bacon thus alludes in his observations upon the sweating sickness, appeared to him to be of great importance and but little understood. An imperfect syllabus of his observations, as scattered over his works may, perhaps, be thus exhibited.

1. Every tangible body contains a spirit.
2. The spirit is imperceptible by the senses.
3. The spirit is but little known because it is imperceptible by the senses.
4. This science is of great importance.

These general observations are explained by a particular investigation of the various properties of spirit.

I. Quantity of spirit.
   1. How generated.
   2. Of condensing and dilating the spirit.
   3. Detention of spirit.
   4. Exhaustion of spirit.

II. Quality of spirit.
   1. Different spirits of different bodies, and different sorts of spirits in the same body.
   2. Of preserving the spirit young and vigorous.
   3. Hot and cold.
   4. Active and quiescent.

III. Regulation of spirit.

IV. Of the perceptible effects of spirit upon the body.

As a poet, he considers the subject in the fable of Proserpine, contained in this volume*; and, as a philosopher, in various parts of his works. His opinion of the existence of this spirit, as stated in the Sylva Sylvarum, is contained in the preface to this volume.† So in the history of "Life and Death, § 11. Ax. 2. he says, "All tangible bodies contain a spirit covered over and enveloped with the "grosser body. There is no known body in the upper parts of the "earth, without its spirit; whether it be generated by the attenuating and concocting power of the celestial warmth, or otherwise: "for the pores of tangible bodies are not a vacuum, but either "contain air, or the peculiar spirit of the substance. And this spirit "is not a virtue, an energy, a soul, or a fiction: but a real, subtle, "and invisible body, circumscribed by place and dimension. Nor "again is this spirit air, any more than the juice of the grape is

* Page 88. † Page xxvii.

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" water: but a fine attenuated body, of kin to air, though again very " different from it. Let it be held as certain, that there is in all " tangible bodies a spirit, or pneumatical substance, enveloped and " included in the tangible parts; every tangible body, with us, con- " tains an invisible and untangible spirit, over which the body is " drawn like a garment. For spirits are nothing else but a natural " body, rarified to a proportion, and included in the tangible parts of " bodies, as in an integument. And they be no less differing one " from the other, than the dense or tangible parts; and they " are in all tangible bodies whatsoever, more or less." And in " the treatise "De Augmentis," having divided the science of man, " as an individual, into mind and body, he says—1. Now let " us proceed to the knowledge which concerns the mind or " soul of man, out of the treasures whereof all other know- " ledges are extracted. It hath two parts, the one entreateth of the " reasonable soul, which is a thing divine; the other of the unreason- " able soul, which is common to us with beasts. We have noted a " little before (where we speak of forms) those two different emana- " tions of souls, which in the first creation of them both, offer them- " selves unto our view; that is, that one hath its original from the " breath of God; the other from the matrices of the elements; for of " the primitive emanation of the rational soul: thus speaks the Scrip- " ture, 'Deus formavit hominem de limo terræ, et spiravit in faciem " ejus spiraculum vitæ:' but the generation of the unreasonable soul, " or of beasts, was accomplished by these words; 'producat aqua, " producat terra:' and this irrational soul, as it is in man, is the in- " strument only to the reasonable soul; and hath the same original " in us, that it hath in beasts; namely, from the slime of the earth; " for it is not said, God formed the body of man of the slime of the " earth, but God formed man, that is the whole man, that spiraculum " excepted. Wherefore we will stile that part of the general know- " ledge concerning man's soul, the knowledge of the spiracle, or " inspired substance; and the other part, the knowledge of the sen- " sible or product soul."

So Plato's doctrine of the Soul of the World; see also 6. Œneid—

" Principio cœlum, ac terras, camposq liquentes,
" Lucentemq globum lunæ, Titaniaq astra
" Spiritus intus alit totamq infusa per artus
" Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet."

In Wordsworth's Excursion, he says,

" 'To every form of being is assigned,'
" Thus calmly spake the venerable sage,
" 'An active principle:—howe'er removed
" From sense and observation, it subsists
" In all things, in all natures, in the stars
" Of azure heaven, the unenduring clouds,
" In flower and tree, in every pebbly stone
" That paves the brooks, the stationary rocks,
" The moving waters, and the invisible air.
" Whate'er exists hath properties that spread
" Beyond itself, communicating good,
" A simple blessing, or with evil mixed;
" Spirit that knows no insulated spot,
" No chasm, no solitude, from link to link
" It circulates, the soul of all the worlds.'"

See also Berkeley's Siris, 133, and the beginning of the Minute

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Philosopher. See also Mandeville on Hypocondriasis, and Malebranche on Truth. The slightest knowledge of Lord Bacon's mind will reject the supposition that he was likely to be misled by any idle imagination, he followed truth, and only truth, wherever she led him. He tried all things, holding fast only that which was good: upon this very subject he says, in his Sylva Sylvarum. "The philosophy of Py-"thagoras, which was full of superstition, did first plant a monstrous "imagination, which afterwards was, by the school of Plato and "others, watered and nourished. It was, that the world was one "entire perfect living creature; insomuch as Apollonius of Tyana, "a Pythagorean prophet, affirmed, that the ebbing and flowing of "the sea was the respiration of the world, drawing in water as "breath, and putting forth again. They went on, and inferred, that if "the world were a living creature, it had a soul and spirit; which also "they held, calling it spiritus mundi, the spirit or soul of the world, "by which they did not intend God, for they did admit of a Deity "besides, but only the soul or essential form of the universe. This "foundation being laid, they might build upon it what they would; "for in a living creature, though never so great, as for example, in "a great whale, the sense and the effects of any one part of the body "instantly make a transcursion throughout the whole body: so that "by this they did insinuate, that no distance of place, nor want or "indisposition of matter, could hinder magical operations; but that "for example, we might here in Europe have sense and feeling of "that which was done in China; and likewise we might work any "effect without and against matter; and this not holpen by the "co-operation of angels or spirits, but only by the unity and har-"mony of nature. There were some also that staid not here; but "went farther, and held, that if the spirit of man, whom they call "the microcosm, do give a fit touch to the spirit of the world, by "strong imaginations, and beliefs, it might command nature; for "Paracelsus, and some darksome authors of magic, do ascribe to "imagination exalted the power of miracle-working faith. With "these vast and bottomless follies men have been in part en-"ertained.

"But we, that hold firm to the works of God, and to the sense, "which is God's lamp, 'lucerna Dei spiraculum hominis,' will inquire "with all sobriety and severity, whether there be to be found in the "footsteps of nature, any such transmission and influx of immate-"riate virtues; and what the force of imagination is; either upon "the body imaginant, or upon another body: wherein it will be like "that labour of Hercules, in purging the stable of Augeas, to se-"parate from superstitious and magical arts and observations, any "thing that is clean and pure natural; and not to be either con-"temned or condemned."

As a specimen of Bacon's ingenuity and beautiful reasoning upon this subject, I select his mode of explaining the 'Condensation of Spirit by Flight.' Spirits, he says, are condensed,

1. By flight.
2. By cold.
    1. By respiration.
    2. By vapour.
    3. By aliment.
3. By appeasing.
4. By quelling.

One of the modes of condensing the spirits is 'By Flight,' that is

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when there is an antipathy between the spirit and the body which acts upon it, and where the force of impulse is quicker than the force of recovery—opium, for instance, is exceedingly powerful in condensing the spirits, so powerful that a grain or two will tranquillize the nerves: and by a few grains they may be so compressed as to be irrecoverable: now, if there is an antipathy between opium and spirit, as there is sympathy between the magnet and iron, and the opium acts without intermission upon the spirit before it recovers itself, the cause of the condensation appears. This may, perhaps, be illustrated by fainting from fear, where if the impression be repeated before the spirits rally, the patient falls: but this may be prevented by the application of a stimulant, surprize from a sudden impulse, as a glass of water or the prick of a pin, or self possession.

"I am not sick, if Brutus have in hand
"Any exploit worthy the name of honor."

This subject is more fully explained in the Novum Organum, where Bacon, speaking of what he calls magical instances, by which, "We understand such wherein the matter, or efficient, is but "small, compared with the greatness of the work or effect produced: "so that though these instances were common, they would still be "almost miraculous; some of them at first sight, and others even "when attentively considered."

That great effects are sometimes produced by apparently small causes, is obvious—"By the rapid and powerful expansion of gun-"powder into flame, vast masses of building are in a moment "overturned, and great weights thrown to considerable distances—"By some poisons the most powerful animals may in a moment be "destroyed."

The following experiments made with a peculiar poison, will illustrate this——

"Mons. Condamine relates the experiments made by him with "the vegetable poison of 'ticunas' mixed with that of 'lamas.'

"June 8th.—I made a very small incision with a lancet between "the ears of a cat, and with a pencil I put into it a drop of the poi-"son: in an instant the creature died in my hands.

"July 15.—I pricked a hawk in the left claw: into the puncture "I introduced a small drop of the poison, and then set the creature "at liberty; but he could not fly: the utmost he could do was to "perch on a stick, which was within six inches of the ground. He "shook his head several times, as if to get rid of something that "seemed troublesome in his throat. His eyes were restless, and his "feathers were all bristled up. His head fell between his legs, and "in three minutes he died.

"M. le Chevalier de Grossee had an eagle, which he kept a good "while in his court-yard, and intended to make a present of it to M. "Reaumur, to adorn his cabinet, but wanted to know how to put it "to death without injuring its feathers. M. de Reaumur sent him an "arrow fresh dipped in the poison: it was stuck into the wing of "this large bird, the eagle dropped down dead in an instant."

These effects, Bacon says, may be ascribed to one or more of three causes.

"1. By self-multiplication, as in fire, and those poisons, called "specific; as also in motions, which pass and increase, as they go "from wheel to wheel; (2.) by excitation, or invitation, in another "body: as the loadstone animates numberless needles, without

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" loss, or diminution of its virtue; and we find the same kind of " virtue in yeast, &c. (3.) by the preoccupation of motion."

Under the head of hydrometical instances in the Novum Organum, the expression of preoccupation of motion is explained. " When a musical string is struck, it vibrates, and the strings " appear double, treble, &c. Rings, twirled upon an axis, appear " spheres. A lighted stick moved quickly in a circle, appears a circle " of fire, or what boys call gold lace. A lighted flambeau carried " quickly by night, appears tailed like a comet." But if these motions, are performed slowly, such appearances do not exist. It seems, therefore, that they originate in a new impression being made before the effect of a former impression is removed, that is, by the motion of impulse being quicker than the motion of recovery.

So too Bacon says, " The effects produced by gunpowder, are " occasioned by the impelling power being quicker than the power " of resistance." He says, " the cause whereof is doubtless this, " that the motion of dilatation in the powder, which is the impelling " force, is many degrees swifter than the motion of gravity, which " makes the resistance, so that the prevailing motion is performed " before the opposite motion begins, whilst at first there was a kind " of neutrality, or want of resistance. And hence, in all projec- " tiles, it is not so much the strong as the sharp and quick stroke " that carries the body furthest." And he adds, " Nor was it " possible that a small quantity of spirit in animals, especially in " them so bulky as the elephant, or the whale, should move and " manage so great a mass of matter, but for the velocity of the " motion of the spirit before the quantity of the corporeal mass " can resist."

Lord Bacon's opinions upon vital spirit are chiefly contained in his History of Life and Death: but in his tract upon the Prolongation of Life in the treatise " De Augmentis," he says that length of life partly depends upon strengthening the resistance of the body, and diminishing the activity of the spirit. His words are—

" Consumption is caused by two depredations, depredation of " innate spirit; and depredation of ambient air. The resistance of " both is two-fold, either when the agents (that is, the suck and " moistures of the body) become less predatory, or the patients are " made less depredable. The spirit is made less predatory; if either " it be condensed in substance, as in the use of opiates, and nitrous " application, and in contristations; or be diminished in quantity, " as in spare, Pythagorical, or monastical diets; or is sweetened and " refreshed with motion, as in ease and tranquillity."

" Our second precept is, that the prolongation of life be expected, " rather from working upon spirits, and from a malacissation or in- " teneration of parts, than from any kinds of aliment or order of diet. " For seeing the body of man, and the frame thereof (leaving aside " outward accidents) three ways become passive, namely, from the " spirits; from the parts; and from aliments; the way of prolonga- " tion of life, by means of aliment is a long way about, and that by " many ambages and circuits; but the ways by working upon the " spirits, and upon the parts, are more compendious, and sooner " bring us to the end desired; because the spirits are suddenly " moved, both from vapours and passions, which work strangely " upon them: and the parts, by baths, unguents, emplaisters, which " in like manner make way by sudden impressions."

Shaw, in his edition of Bacon, lately published, says, " the whole

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" of this enquiry still remains strangely neglected, to the great dis-
" advantage of natural philosophy, which seems almost a dead thing
" without it." But Professor Stewart, in his Essay, prefixed to the Supplement to the Scotch Encyclopedia, and Coleridge in his Aids to Reflection, page 92, consider this theory to be obsolete.

NOTE B.

Referring to page 125.

In his history of Life and Death, he says, " Concerning the times
" of nativity, as they refer to long life, nothing hath been observed
" worthy the setting down; save only astrological observations,
" which we rejected in our topics. A birth at the eighth month, is
" not only not long-lived, but not likely to live. Also winter births
" are accounted the longer lived."

And in some other part of his works, he says, a seven months child proves the strength of the infant, an eight months, the weakness of the mother.

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